

104

THE HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Y 4. IN 8/16:H 62/2

The History of the Armenian Genocide...

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MAY 15, 1996

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



DEPOSITORY

SEP 18 1996

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HEARING ON THE HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1996

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:25 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, the Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. The committee will now proceed to our hearing on the history of the Armenian genocide. This morning the committee is pleased to have the opportunity to take testimony from three academicians who specialize in the history and politics of the Caucasus and Middle East regions.

I want to welcome before our committee, and I will ask them to take their seats, Professor Levon Marashlian, Professor of History at Glendale Community College in Glendale, California. Professor Marashlian, welcome.

Dr. Rouben Adalian, Adjunct Professor of History at Georgetown University and George Washington University. Dr. Adalian, welcome.

And Dr. Justin McCarthy, Professor of History at the University of Louisville in Louisville, Kentucky. Please take your seat, Dr. McCarthy, and we welcome you.

Gentlemen, we thank you for taking time from your busy schedules to appear before the International Relations Committee today. The committee hopes to draw on your academic expertise, particularly on the events that took place in the former Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918, events that led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Armenian citizens of that State in a tragedy that has now been referred to as the Armenian genocide.

The deaths of so many Armenians in the early years of this century left an indelible imprint on the lives of those who survived and on their descendants. The committee would like to hear from our witnesses today about the causes of those atrocities. We are interested to learn your opinions as to whether average people, citizens of the Ottoman Empire at that time, were driven into a cycle of violence that ultimately led to allout ethnic warfare or whether the atrocities conducted against Armenian citizens were simply part of a State-sponsored plan to eradicate that population.

I note a column in last Sunday's Washington Post by Mr. Peter Maas, a reporter who covered the recent war in Bosnia. In that column, Mr. Maas stated the following, and I quote, "During the 1992 and 1993 period, I met many Serbs who were participating in the

attempted genocide against the Muslims. These were ordinary people. They had been turned into killers or accomplices to kill in a very quick and unforeseeable manner. It did not take that much, just an immersion in hateful propaganda which instilled fear into some hearts, hatred into others, confusion into still more, and then the genocide happened."

Having read that column, I was most interested to hear from you gentlemen about this view of how ordinary people can be drawn into a genocide against others. It may be difficult even for historians such as yourselves to know all the details of history that it is now more than 80 years old.

I believe that your answers are relevant, however, to the challenges Armenia and Turkey are facing today.

In short, can Armenia and Turkey live side by side in peace? Can Armenia and Turkey, in spite of the horrible events of eight decades ago, build the cooperative relationship that both of their peoples truly need as we enter the next century? Obviously, these are very important issues for our committee. We certainly need to focus on the peace in the Middle East and the Caucasus. And for all of us who care about continued peace in those regions, those questions cannot be far from our thoughts as we review the events of 1915 through 1918.

[The prepared statement of Chairman Gilman appears in the appendix.]

I would now like to invite any members of our committee who would like to comment on this matter. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman, and I commend you for sponsoring this important hearing regarding the genocide which was perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire against the people of Armenia between the years 1915 and 1923.

Eighty-one years after the beginning of the genocide, I think it is important to bring that era to our memory to demonstrate our solidarity with the victims and their families and to express our determination to never again allow such a horror to take place.

Though April 24th is the date singled out to mark the catastrophe, the actual process of genocide took place over a period of years. During that nightmarish era, which lasted from 1915 to 1923, some 1.5 million Armenians were brutalized, tortured, massacred, starved, deported and force marched to death. Many of the survivors came to the United States. With their Armenian spirit of survival intact, they began their lives anew. The community of new arrivals prospered in America, have contributed to our cultural development, enhanced our diversity and have been activists within our political process.

In this century alone, Mr. Chairman, the Armenians have lived through their worst era, the genocide, and have begun one of their best, most exhilarating eras as well, the restoration of an independent Armenian State after centuries of dreaming and of struggle on behalf of that cause.

The people of independent Armenia have gone through some very difficult times coping with the consequences of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as well as the wrenching transition from communism misrule to pluralism and a market economy.

Throughout, the Armenian people have demonstrated the sturdiness of character and perseverings that have become their hallmark. Their spirit remains strong despite the deprivations they have endured. Their commitment to democracy and to Armenian nationhood has not faltered. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for scheduling again this important hearing and I look forward to hearing our distinguished witnesses this morning.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you for holding this hearing today. And I want to thank Dr. Adalian, Professor Marashlian and Dr. McCarthy for coming before us today to give testimony about the tragedy of the Armenian genocide.

Your testimony and this hearing ensure that the 1.5 million victims of the Armenian genocide will not be forgotten. By telling their history and evoking their names, we protect them and indeed ourselves from those who would willfully erase from history their lives, and the tragic events which occurred between 1915 and 1923.

As with the Nazi holocaust, we have a responsibility to society to recount the history of the Armenian genocide so that we do not forget its victims and so that we remember man's capacity to destroy others who differ in their opinions, race, religion or ethnicity. Genocide is the most egregious crime. It is not a crime of passion or revenge, but rather of hate. Its innocent victims are guilty only of being born to a different mother.

Now H. Con. Res. 147, which already has 165 cosponsors, including 17 members of this committee, is a mechanism by which this Congress can honor the victims of the Armenian genocide. And furthermore, this resolution seeks justice on behalf of the victims by calling upon Turkey to acknowledge and commemorate the atrocity.

Since 1923, Turkey has virtually denied the Armenian genocide. There has been no justice and there were no Nuremberg trials for the victims and the families of the Armenian genocide. This resolution takes an enormous step toward justice.

Ralph Waldo Emerson tells us, "The history of persecution is a history of endeavors to cheat nature, to make water run uphill, to twist a rope of sand. The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of fame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side. Hours of sanity and consideration are always arriving to communities as to individuals when truth is seen and martyrs are justified."

Mr. Chairman, this hearing and this resolution give us an opportunity to make the words of Mr. Emerson true. I hope my colleagues in the Congress will join us in cosponsoring the resolution and seek its swift passage. And at this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a unanimous consent request to have the statement on the Armenian genocide from our colleague from California, the only Member of Congress of Armenian descent, Congresswoman Anna Eshoo, placed in the hearing record at the appropriate point.

[The prepared statement of Representative Eshoo appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, back in 1985, we had this debate on the House floor, and I was involved in this debate with former Chairman Broomfield quite extensively. And at that time I pointed out that there was a full page advertisement in the New York Times which was signed by 100 or so historians and professors of history and archeology and other areas that have dealt with the Ottoman Empire and that entire region of the world.

And they disavowed the resolution at that time and said it was historically inaccurate. And I know we have some experts who are going to testify here today and I will be very happy to listen to them and I plan to ask them some questions. I think the light, Mr. Chairman, is out of kilter here. But I hope I get the full 5 minutes because I think it is very important.

There are some allegations that have been made. First of all, the Ottoman Government ordered and carried out a genocide of its ethnic Armenian population. The facts are that there was never a systematic campaign to exterminate Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. While Armenian losses were incurred in Ottoman territory during World War I, an even greater proportion of the Muslim population was killed. During this time of intercommunal conflict, Russian forces invaded the Ottoman Empire and many of the Armenian Ottomans joined forces with the Russians.

The second allegation is Armenian revolutionaries reacted in response to Turkish repression. They were exercising their right to secure a homeland, a goal shared by all peoples. The fact is Armenians were driven by nationalism in their desire to have a homeland, ignoring the principal of majority rule in an overwhelmingly Muslim land.

The third allegation is Armenians were innocent victims of the Ottomans. At the onset of World War I, Armenians were loyal or neutral Ottoman subjects. It was only in retaliation against Turkish aggression that they revolted. The fact is Armenians rose up against the Ottoman Government, aided invading Russian forces and killed Muslim Ottomans prior to any action against Armenians.

The fourth allegation is forced migration was attacked and used solely by Ottomans against Armenians. In fact, forced migration was a tactic used by Russians against Turks and other Muslims. Only later was it used by Armenians and by the Ottomans. During World War I, greater numbers of Muslims were forced to migrate than Armenians.

Another allegation is that World War I gave the Ottomans the opportunity to deport Armenians which they had long wanted to do. The fact is the Ottoman decision to deport Armenians was based on military necessity because of wartime conditions. The deportation was not properly enacted.

Allegation was Armenian groups have peacefully sought to promote the genocide charge. Beginning in 1973, several Armenian terrorist groups including the ASALA and the JCAG used terror and violence to promote the genocide claim. Over 20 attacks were perpetrated on U.S. soil.

The next fact was passage of a congressional resolution validating the genocide charge will satisfy the Armenian/American community. In fact, Armenian groups have stated that passage of such a resolution is only the first step in advancing other goals such as claims against Turkey for monetary and territorial reparations. Passage of this resolution will facilitate these efforts.

I would like to also point out, Mr. Chairman, that Turkey was only part of the Ottoman Empire. There were 25 distinct countries in Southeastern Europe that were part of the Ottoman Empire and none of those are mentioned in this resolution except Turkey. And if this is a fact, then those others bear some responsibility and I do not consider these allegations factual.

But there was enough suffering to go around. There is no question whatsoever that there was an awful lot of suffering incurred by the Armenians, but there was also suffering incurred by Muslim inhabitants of that region who were part of the Ottoman Empire and part of Turkey.

I would like to end up by reading a statement. It may run just a little bit longer than the 5 minutes. So I hope you will just give me a little bit of latitude, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am not sure our founding fathers intended Congress to interject itself into historical disputes taking place over 80 years ago. And I would like to point out that one of the problems we have in Bosnia today is these hatreds go back 300, 400 years. And why do we keep resurrecting these hatreds and keeping them going on and on and on when there are historical disputes about them? And there definitely is a big disparity between what one side and the other thinks about what went on back during this period.

This took place over 80 years ago in a place thousands of miles from here and under an empire which no longer exists. I do know that they did not intend to brand a proven friend and ally a perpetrator of genocide, one of the world's most heinous of crimes. And Turkey is a very strong ally, I might add, of the United States.

However, since our committee has chosen to hold this hearing, I think it is critical that we make an attempt to be even-handed and I wish to commend the chairman for getting both sides to the Armenian genocide dispute a fair opportunity to present their views here today.

Mr. Chairman, I know that the Armenian/American lobby as well as several Members of Congress have pushed very hard to hold today's hearing and have also pressed for the passage of H. Con. Res. 47, more popularly known as the Armenian genocide resolution, which calls on the United States to encourage the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge and commemorate historically disputed Armenian claims that the Ottoman Empire committed a genocide against the Armenian population from 1915 to 1923.

If we must debate this time period, I believe that debate should be comprehensive and not selective. While there is considerable debate about whether or not a "genocide was even committed against Armenians", there are a few facts that are irrefutable and must not be ignored in the context of this hearing.

From 1915 to 1923, Armenian forces joined the invading armies of Russia while Armenians and Muslims were engaged in hostilities in Eastern Anatolia and the Southern Caucasus. While no

one disputes that Armenians suffered tragic losses during this period, there was also an enormous loss of life among the Turkish Muslim population at the hands of the Armenians. In fact, many historians say that even more Muslims lost their lives than Armenians.

It is sad that few people in this Congress ever want to acknowledge their suffering or have been willing to propose resolution calling present-day government of Armenia to acknowledge and commemorate the tragic sufferings that Armenians inflicted on the Muslim population over 80 years ago.

I do not believe that it is the proper role of Congress to legislate history and to debase an ally, and I mean a very strong ally in Turkey, by proposing resolutions like H. Con. Res. 47. It is our job to promote U.S. interest and to promote and advance peace around the world. I am very skeptical whether this hearing will achieve any of these goals. The United States and Turkey, two NATO allies, share a history of cooperation spanning from the Korean War to the Gulf War to Bosnia. During the cold war, Turkey was the bulwark of NATO's southern flank.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. BURTON. I ask the indulgence of the committee for one more minute.

Chairman GILMAN. I would be pleased to yield the gentleman an additional minute.

Mr. BURTON. Turkey was the bulwark of NATO's southern flank. U.S./Turkish cooperation is equally important today as we face continued unrest in the Middle East, Balkans and the Caucasias. At the same time, Armenia is a land-locked country which needs to foster good neighborly relations with Turkey in order to achieve economic stability and be self-sufficient in asserting its independence from Russia. Progress has been made in normalizing Turkish/Armenian relations. Last year in a gesture of good will, Turkey opened the air corridor to Armenia. Prime Minister Yelmez indicated his willingness to enter into close cooperation with Armenia once the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is resolved. Just last month Armenian President Ter-Petrosian stated that Turkey is Armenia's shortest path to the outside world. Discussions in the U.S. Congress which suggest there was a genocide in Armenia are detrimental to the independent State of Armenia as well as Turkey and are counter to U.S. foreign policy interests in the region. I believe Congress should leave history to the historians and concentrate on the more pressing problems our country faces today. And I would just like to end, Mr. Chairman, by saying I think it is very important that we try to get on with living instead of digging up historical conflicts that happened 70, 80, 90, 300 or 400 years ago in Bosnia which caused continued conflict. If we were ever going to have peace and stability in the world, people need to start here and say we were going to work together as human beings, love one another, work out our differences and go forward.

As long as we continue to dig up old hatreds and old problems, you are going to continue with those hatreds and we are going to have Bosnia after Bosnia after Bosnia. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Extraneous material, submitted by Mr. Burton, appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Burton. Mr. Martinez.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I would like to say that it is interesting to hear that in several instances my colleague has referred to Turkey as our ally. I would like to remind Mr. Burton that allies in the past have become enemies very quickly. And I am not going to go through the litany of those countries that were once our ally that became enemies and then subsequently became allies again. That is not the point.

The point here is that the Armenian community for years has just wanted the Turkish Government to acknowledge what they did and there is plenty of evidence and proof of that. And whether or not Congress has a right to be involved in it is another question we can debate, but I firmly believe that we have interjected ourselves in every controversy around the world wherever we have seen human suffering. What are we in Bosnia about?

So that is a moot question really. The truth of the matter is that it is well-documented that on the even of launching the Jewish holocaust, Hitler was talking to his generals and they questioned him about what world opinion would be. And this is the crucial point. He said to his generals, "Who, after all, speaks for the annihilation of the Armenians?" Hitler said that and that is documented.

And that is the reason why we talk about this is because when the world stands by and allows a genocide or an elimination of a people because of their differences, then we are as guilty as the people who are committing it because we have not taken the action to cause it to stop. And that is our responsibility as human beings just to stop people from abusing other people.

It is apparent, Mr. Chairman, and I want to commend you for holding this hearing today, that there are still people that deny the Armenian genocide, as well as those people that deny the Jewish holocaust. I have had neighbors who have immigrated to this country who are from Germany and I have sat and argued with this young woman from Germany who denied that that ever happened with all of the evidence that existed and that is what happens here. People choose to deny for convenience.

Sure, Turkey is our ally, but Turkey is our ally that has bases there that we want to maintain. But those bases are as valuable to Turkey as they are to us and that ally situation goes both ways. And I think that the Turkish Government knows very well what happened way back then.

I want to commend you, Mr. Chairman, because you as chairman of the International Relations Committee are opening this whole question to examine the facts. And the fact was that there was a systemic effort to eradicate Armenians. In fact, that was a genocide.

Let me tell you something else. If you want more proof of it, call the St. James Church and the walled city of Jerusalem and you will see there artifacts that were brought many, many years ago from little villages that no longer exist. And look at the maps that they have and you see the eradication of complete villages to the ground and the people enslaved or killed. I myself have personally listened to people who were a part of that.

There was one particular gentleman, and this is another point. You say we ought to get on with living and we ought to get on with

loving each other. Well, that is fine and I agree with that. The problem is how do you make a person whole who witnessed his whole family being killed and their heads being chopped off and a pregnant sister's belly being cut open and a baby taken out and chopped into pieces. That man lived with that consequence for years and years and years until the day he died. And then he took a step to take vengeance for what happened to him and his family.

That did not satisfy him. Like you said, he would have rather lived to love than lived to hate. And there are a lot of people that still live that were victims of that. If you do not believe the history books and everything else and in fact our own ambassador to Turkey who wrote extensively about it, then listen to some of the people that actually suffered the consequences of that.

There was a reign of terror that ruled the lives of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. And if there were other countries that were part of the Ottoman Empire, it was mainly the Turkish part of the Ottoman Empire that went after the Armenians because they were in their region and in the area where they wanted to claim the country for themselves and eliminate Armenia.

That went on for 8 long horrific years. Armenian women, men and children were consumed by the fires of racial and religious intolerance. I myself like I said before have listened to many stories from people who were personally involved in that situation who had come to the United States to make a better life for themselves, but still could not forget the horrors that their family faced.

Tragically, by the end of 1923, the entire Armenian population of Anatolia and Western Armenia had either been killed or deported into slavery. Many of the survivors of the Armenian genocide, like Mr. Chris Smith said, have come to America and built new lives for themselves, contributing considerably their talents and energy to our economic prosperity.

This committee hearing is an important and, I believe, an historically tragic event. I cannot remember in the past if there has ever been a hearing held on this event. But I think it is about time.

Mr. Chairman, I look forward to listening to the testimony of these distinguished panelists.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Martinez. Is any other member seeking recognition? Mr. Moran.

Mr. MORAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like in part to respond to my friend, Mr. Burton, because I know his comments were very sincere. In the first place, no nation should be self righteous in having hearings about the genocide committed by other nations. The fact is there may be no nation of people who have not engaged in some massacre against another people or at the very least stood by knowing that it was occurring. In the United States we committed genocide against Native American people.

So why should we have this hearing? It seems to me that there is really no prospect for uniting and healing which is really the ultimate objective of this, without truth and justice being established as the foundation for that process.

It is much easier to divide and to choose one group of people over another, but that is antithetical to our foreign policy and to human dynamics really. I think we can play an important role in determining what did happen. I suspect that it will not be as clearcut

as any side suggests. I was talking with a very credible historian two nights ago about this and he was saying that much of the substantial part of the massacre was conducted actually by Kurdish people who did it as much for the wealth and relative prosperity that the Armenian people had achieved and who swooped down and really stole and pillaged.

But by virtue of the fact that I am a cosponsor of this resolution, I have come to the conclusion that there was an official policy on the part of the Ottoman Empire, an official policy that condoned mass slaughter.

Now, I can understand the environment, of course, the environment of war is almost inexplicable in itself. But clearly the Russian people on whose side many Armenians fought had retreated, had left the Armenians as a buffer. There was a natural antipathy that existed within the Ottoman Empire between the Muslims and the Armenians. The Armenians were, in fact, massacred. There seems to be more than sufficient evidence that more than a million Armenians were killed. And not just men who might have been able to fight in a war. This was the whole population.

And we have enough people; in fact, some people who are generally considered pro Turkish who have testified that they witnessed what appeared to be the results of a deliberate official policy.

I think this hearing might help to explore that, to bring out, to reiterate and to restate some of that testimony of a very credible people at the time. But the purpose again should not be to create villains as much as to establish truth. I think we are going to have a similar situation, a parallel situation, when we deal with the Bosnian conflict. I think we are going to find that genocide occurred there and that it was part of an official policy.

In this case, it was the Slavic population who out of Serbia who deliberately committed genocide against the Bosnian Muslim population. But for those divisions to be healed, we need to determine on the record from credible people what happened, why it happened, so that it does not happen again and so that there can be some ultimate unification between those people. I do think again that the only way to achieve any kind of enduring peace is to establish a foundation of truth and justice.

And so with that, I will yield the balance of my time and I am most anxious to hear from our three witnesses who have been very much involved in putting the facts forward on this issue. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Moran. I note the attendance today of Mr. Palone, the gentleman from New Jersey, who has asked to take part in our hearing. Without objection, the Chair intends to recognize Mr. Palone and other members in attendance. Are there any other members of the committee seeking recognition? If not, Mr. Palone.

Mr. PALONE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to participate today and I will be brief because I know we have to get to the panel. I just wanted to say as you mentioned, we do have a caucus on Armenian issues, most of the members I think who are present here today of the committee are members of our caucus.

And three points that I wanted to make very briefly. One is I do believe it is very important for this Congress to be on record as recognizing the Armenian genocide which is why I think it is crucial to move H. Con. Res. 147.

I think that the fact that you, Mr. Chairman, are having this hearing today certainly gives credence to the fact that we need to move forward to recognize the genocide for what it was. But we also need to move that resolution out of committee and vote it on the floor because that will put this Congress on record as having recognized the genocide.

Second, it is obviously crucial for the Administration, in this case the Clinton administration, but I think for future administrations as well as the State Department to recognize the genocide for having occurred.

This is a factual issue. It is not a question of politics as to whether or not the State Department or the Administration tilts toward Armenia or Turkey or any other country for that matter. The fact is that this occurred. It is a factual event. It should not depend in any way on a particular politics or whose side who is on in the Congress depending on whether you side with one country or another.

And I am afraid that too often that has been the case here. That rather than recognize as you are doing today the history of this event and the fact that it actually occurred, we pay too close attention to the political whims of the time.

And third, I think it is crucial that ultimately we see a recognition from the Turkish Government that the Armenian genocide occurred. Too often members of our caucus, myself, Mr. Porter who is also the cochairman, write to the Turkish Government and indicate very strongly in individual cases that there was a pattern of massacres that have to be characterized as genocide because it was essentially State-initiated.

And the response always from the Turkish Government is to deny that, to act as if it never did occur. I think that is very unfortunate. It is unfortunate for the victims. It is unfortunate for the perpetrators as well.

If I could use, and this will be my last comment, the analogy with the Nazi holocaust. At least the victims of the Nazi holocaust know that the German Government recognizes that it did occur. And I think that helps the victims as well as the perpetrators because there is no way that you can sort of acknowledge this and have peace with yourself and with your nation unless the genocide is recognized. And I think also, and I agree with Mr. Moran, it is also important for future situations to prevent this type of genocide from occurring again whether it is in Bosnia or any other country.

So we are here. I know it is 80 something years later and we still see that almost on every level, whether it is our own State Department or the Turkish Government or even if it is this Congress that we still have no official statement that the genocide occurred. You are making progress today in having this hearing and I think we can make a lot more progress if we move the resolution toward pushing the Administration and eventually the Turkish Government as well. So I thank you for the opportunity to address the committee.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Palone. Are there other members seeking recognition? If not, given the interest of Members of the House who do not serve on this committee to make statements relevant to the hearing, without objection, I would ask unanimous consent that any statements forwarded to the committee before the end of the hearing be inserted in the record.

[The prepared statement of Representative Berman appears in the appendix.]

And now we will turn to our witnesses, Professor Marashlian.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to summarize my written testimony that I submitted.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the full testimony will be entered in the record.

[The prepared statement of Professor Marashlian appears in the appendix.]

STATEMENT OF PROFESSOR LEVON MARASHLIAN, Ph.D, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, GLENDALE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to eliminate a lot of "quote", "unquote" to make it clearer, but I will be quoting extensively throughout this talk.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to speak before you on an issue which is intimately tied to American history and directly related to the welfare of Turkey and to the success of U.S. policy in a region of the world which as you know is critically important economically and strategically.

In 1919, the National Congress of Turkey confirmed the overwhelming American evidence that the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were victims of a mass destruction during World War I. The National Congress of Turkey declared that the "guilt" of the Turkish officials who "conceived and deliberately carried out this infernal policy of extermination and robbery is patent". Those officials "rank among the greatest criminals of humanity". That is the National Congress of Turkey.

The official Turkish Gazette, Takvimi Vekayi, published the verdict of the post-war Ottoman trials of those officials. The Turkish court ruled that the intention of the Ottoman leaders was "the organization and execution" of the "crime of massacre". Those who today deny the Armenian genocide are resorting to academically unsound revisionism in order to prevent the moral act of remembering this crime against humanity.

In the process, the deniers are doing a disservice to the majority of the Turkish people by keeping the wounds open with their stonewalling tactics, by making it necessary to have hearings like this, they force the Turkish people to continue wearing like an albatross the negative image earned by a circle of officials who ruled 8 decades ago.

A consideration of H. Con. Res. 47 on the Armenian genocide would provide a good opportunity to draw a distinction between the guilty and the innocent Turks, to remember also the Turks of decency who opposed their government's policy of inhumanity.

At a time today when so many people in our own society too often shirk their individual responsibility to make personal choices

based on principles and values, it is a good lesson for us to recall the years when American witnesses and Turkish civilians made a personal choice to resist a wrong and save human lives, when a few Turkish officials even chose to object, even though doing so could endanger their own lives.

One was an Ottoman Senator, Ahmed Riza. In December, 1915, Senator Riza courageously condemned the policy to destroy and deport Turkey's 2 million Armenian citizens and expropriate their assets, which the government was carrying out under the cover of a legislative fig leaf euphemistically called the abandoned properties law.

"It is unlawful to designate Armenian properties as abandoned", declared Senator Riza, "because they did not leave their properties voluntarily. They were forcibly removed from their homes and exiled. Now the government is selling their possessions. Nobody can sell my property if I am unwilling to sell it. This is atrocious. Grab my arm, eject me from my village, then sell my goods and properties? Such a thing can never be permissible. See neither the conscious of the Ottomans nor the law can allow it."

Mr. Chairman, during the debate on the Senate floor in February, 1990, another Senator, your colleague Robert Dole championed another resolution remembering the Armenian genocide. Senator Dole declared, "It is finally time for us to do what is right. We pride ourselves in America for doing what is right, not what is expedient."

In this case, doing what is right does not exact a big price. The frequently heard argument that a resolution will harm American/Turkish relations is not credible. It ignores the fact that the relationship is much more in Turkey's favor than in America's. Not doing what is right, on the other hand, is tantamount to rejecting mountains of documents in our own National Archives, testimonies that refute the arguments generated in Ankara, and most disturbingly, promoted in prestigious academic circles here in America.

This denial recently spurred over 100 prominent scholars and intellectuals including Raul Hildeburg, John Updike, Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut, and Arthur Miller to sign a petition denouncing the "intellectually and morally corrupt manipulation of American institutions" and the "fraudulent scholarship supported by the Turkish Government and carried out in American universities".

"It was like an endless chain", reported Edith Woods, an American nurse, in 1992. "The children would often be dead before I had taken their names. Forty to fifty of the older women died each day. Their mouths were masses of sores and their teeth were dropping out. And their feet, those poor bleeding feet. Deportation assured death, and a far more horrible death than massacre. Unless one sees these things, it is difficult to believe that such monstrous cruelty and barbarity exist in the world." Ms. Woods' testimony ripped to shreds the web of denial being woven by Turkish officials in the early 1920's.

Allen Dulles, the State Department's Near East Division Chief, and later CIA Director, found it hard to keep these things under wraps as requested by Acting Ambassador Mark Lambert Bristol in Istanbul. Dulles said, "Confidentially, the State Department is in a bind. Our task would be simple if the reports of the atrocities

could be declared untrue or even exaggerated. But the evidence, alas, is irrefutable and the Secretary of State wants to avoid giving the impression that while the United States is willing to intervene actively to protect its commercial interests, it is not willing to move on behalf of the Christian minorities."

And the evidence mounted. In May, 1922, four American relief workers, Major Forrest D. Yowell of Washington, DC, Dr. Mark Ward of New York, Dr. Ruth Parmalee of Boston and Isabel Harley of Rhode Island were all expelled from their posts in Turkey because they too chose to do what is right. They protested the ongoing persecutions.

Dr. Ward quoted Turkish officials. One Turk declared, "We have been too easy in the past. We shall do a thorough job this time." Another Turk remarked, "Why do you Americans waste your time and money on these filthy Greeks and Armenians? We always thought Americans knew how to get their money's worth. Any Greeks and Armenians who do not die here are sure to die when we send them on to Bitlis as we always choose the worst weather in order to get rid of them quicker."

But not all Turks were so cruel. A British diplomat reported that another American in Turkey, Herbert Gibbons, knew of prominent Turks who protested the "unparalleled inhumanity", but these Turks were "beaten and sent away" for intervening.

The mayor of the Black Sea city of Trabazon had no sympathy with the Governor's policy and did what little he could. The government also opposed the "massacres and persecutions", but was powerless to stop it. His predecessor tried and was removed.

Gibbons felt the government's policy was a "calumny upon the good Turks of whom there are many". Massacres never broke out spontaneously since "Christians and Muslims ordinarily get along very well". The massacres are ordered as part of a plan "to make Turkey truly Turkish".

Yet, Gibbons continued, "There are humane and kind hearted Turks, and there are Mohammedans who fear God and who are shocked by the impious horrors of the extermination policy."

Revisionists today say in effect that Americans, that Forrest Yowell, Mark Ward, Ruth Parmalee, Isabel Harley, Edith Woods, Herbert Gibbons and Ambassador Henry Morgenthau were all either liars or misguided.

Remembering the atrocities committed against the Armenians will show respect for those Americans who spoke up and respect as well for the Turks like Senator Riza who also chose to oppose injustice. A recognition of the Armenian genocide by the U.S. Congress would be a step toward helping erase this important ally's image problem, an image problem which a Turkish poet, Nazim Hikmet, described in 1951 as "this black stain on the forehead of the Turkish people".

Encouraging Turkey to face the facts of its history would help lift the cloud of controversy which has haunted it for decades. It would help eliminate the deep roots of Armenian/Turkish enmity, paving the way to normalized relations and it would give Armenia the sense of security many Armenians feel is necessary if Armenia is to respond to Russia's regional policies with more independence and balance.

The prospects for American commerce and regional stability will be strengthened by a recognition of the Armenian genocide. Acknowledging the Armenian genocide also would show that Congress cannot condone the brazen contradiction of its own archives and the dangerous corruption of America's academic institutions. It would send a strong signal to all deniers of genocide, especially to deniers of the holocaust.

Mr. Chairman, taking a stand against the denial of the Armenian genocide would be entirely consistent with the successful resolution deploring Holocaust deniers which you so wisely introduced last December in which you too did what is right, by calling denial efforts "malicious". Such language is applicable to the denial of the Armenian genocide as well.

Mr. Chairman, when weighing the merits of the arguments on both sides of this issue, it would be useful to keep in mind a letter sent to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes in 1924 by Admiral Mark Bristol, a man who was called very pro-Turk by Joseph Clark Grew, Washington's first ambassador to Ankara.

Even the pro-Turk Admiral acknowledged, "the cruelties practiced upon the Armenians by Turks acting under official orders and in pursuance of a deliberate official policy". For that policy, wrote the pro-Turk Admiral Bristol, "There can be no adequate excuse."

Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Professor Marshlian.

Dr. Adalian.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROUBEN ADALIAN, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA; AND ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY AND GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Dr. ADALIAN. Mr. Chairman, let me begin by thanking you and the members of the International Relations Committee for inviting me to testify today. I welcome the opportunity to present a summary of the results of my years of research on the Armenian genocide in the U.S. National Archives and the Library of Congress.

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. Adalian, your full statement will be entered in the record without objection if you wish to summarize your statement.

Dr. ADALIAN. Thank you, sir.

[Dr. Adalian's statement appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Please proceed.

Dr. ADALIAN. Allow me to submit for the consideration of this committee my conclusions upon the completion of the project which I undertook in order to collect all the documents in the holdings of our government that attest to the history of the Armenian genocide and to the record of the United States about the Armenian genocide. This evidence should serve to remind this committee and this Congress about a chapter of American history of which every American can be proud.

It is regrettable that much of it has been forgotten and it is all the more unfortunate that because of this forgetting there are some in this country who actually question the record of our government on the subject of the Armenian genocide. I hope that this massive documentation project which identified 37,000 pages of material, or

approximately 4,000 documents, will help to rectify this problem and overcome the doubt that the passage of time has planted in the minds of some.

If there is just one reason why Congress should reaffirm the American record on the Armenian genocide, it is because of the importance of our national memory for the formulation of current U.S. policy. If the United States is to play a credible role in responding to crises around the world when gross violations of human rights occur, it cannot afford to appear in doubt about past crimes against humanity.

The need for U.S. leadership in preventing impending genocides and in assisting in the prosecution of persons accused of having engaged in war crimes has been underscored this year once again. Whether the intervention is required in Bosnia, Rwanda or Burundi, the world turns to the United States for direction. It does so not just because the United States has the might and the capacity to change the course of events for the better. It does so because the United States has a unique record of humanitarian intervention which can be traced back to the efforts made on behalf of the Armenians in the early part of the 20th century. To reaffirm that record is to recommit our country to a sense of responsibility that is the hallmark of world leadership.

In 1915, the Ottoman Government began implementing a policy to annihilate the Armenians or the Empire through deportations and massacres. The U.S. Embassy in Constantinople immediately became the focal point for those reporting on the escalating violence directed against the Armenian population.

Alarmed at the increasing frequency of the reports of mistreatment, deportation and massacres, Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. ambassador to Turkey, reached the conclusion that a systematic effort was underway to liquidate the Armenian population.

In a series of reports, Ambassador Morgenthau relayed his findings to the Secretary of State in Washington. His cables included the consular reports substantiating the reports that Armenians in Turkey were in the throes of a State-organized campaign aimed at their wholesale annihilation under the guise of a resettlement policy.

These documents describe the forcible evacuation of Armenians from numerous towns and cities and the physical abuse of the deportees. They point out the site predetermined by the authorities as places of execution. They list by town and village the number of people deported, and further report on the number of those who survived, revealing that the deportations were intended to be nothing more than death marches.

The guarantee that this primary material is of the highest order and historical value has always rested in the fact that it was, in the main, authored by official representatives of the U.S. Government, that most were produced in the course of fulfilling regular duties, and that in their nature they are consistent with the correspondence regarded ordinary under normal circumstances. Furthermore, the U.S. Foreign Service personnel were all trained observers of current events charged with keeping their government informed of developments in their respective spheres of responsibility.

While the U.S. record on the Armenian genocide is the most expansive in the detail of its coverage of the events of 1915 to 1918, the official records of many other countries corroborate the evidence gathered by U.S. diplomats. Researchers have now established that all the major European states, whether friends or foes of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, hold substantial archival collections of documents. These countries include Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia.

It is especially relevant here to note that the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit has ruled on the matter of the Armenian genocide. In a decision issued in 1993, in the case of *Van Z. Krikorian v. Department of State*, through a Freedom of Information Act request, sought to uncover the source of the 1982 Department of State decision to refer to the Armenian genocide as an alleged event by claiming that "the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous". The Court ruled clearly this position contradicted longstanding U.S. policy.

A growing number of countries and multinational organizations, including the European Parliament and the United Nations, now recognize the Armenian genocide as historical fact. In 1994, the Armenian genocide was discussed in the Israeli Knesset. In 1995, the Russian Parliament adopted a resolution on the Armenian genocide. This year the Greek Parliament has done the same and a resolution was introduced in the Canadian Parliament.

The Congress of the United States, the deliberative body of the world's greatest democracy should be taking the lead on this matter. Sadly, the United States is lagging in reaffirming the Armenian genocide. This is a responsibility that should not be shirked in the light of the conscious reversal of U.S. policy by current and prior administrations on the very record of the United States.

Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton have failed to deliver on campaign promises to affirm the Armenian genocide. In the absence of action by the executive branch, it is incumbent on the Congress to demonstrate leadership and secure the American record on the Armenian genocide from further dispute. To delay a decision on reaffirming the United States' longstanding policy on the Armenian genocide as a historical and documented fact is to permit latitude to those who contest, distort and deny the Armenian genocide.

This very concern lies at the heart of a petition signed by 100 prominent American scholars and writers who offered that "the denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide". They placed their petition in the February 2, 1996 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* under the heading, "Taking a Stand Against the Turkish Government's Denial of the Armenian genocide and the Scholarly Corruption of the Academy".

This petition is based on evidence published in the prestigious journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* which is issued by Oxford University in association with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. This article exposed an arrangement by which the government of Turkey channeled funds into a supposedly objective research institute in the United States, which in turn paid the salary of a historian who served that government in its campaign to discredit scholarship on the Armenian genocide.

That any American scholar denies the Armenian genocide should be cause for alarm and outrage. The frequent device relied upon by deniers is the pretense that only persons of ethnic Armenian background believe that the atrocities committed against the Armenians during World War I constitute a genocide.

They willfully ignore a vitally important fact that the first person to characterize the Armenian massacres as genocide was Rafael Lemken, the person who coined the term genocide, and who was the principle author and tireless proponent of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. In spite of all the evidence, deniers like Stanford Shaw and Justin McCarthy, among others, persist with their discredited arguments.

This hearing constitutes the fourth occasion in the last 20 years that Congress examined the record on the Armenian genocide in order to determine a course of action.

In 1976, the House Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy, in its "Investigation into Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future" heard testimony from a distinguished panel of experts who provided the committee with extensive evidence about the history of the events of 1915 through 1918 and reminded the committee of the American record of decisions, resolutions and policy statements that clearly demonstrated the longstanding U.S. position on the Armenian genocide.

That hearing was held in the light of the adoption by the U.S. House of Representatives of the Joint Resolution to designate April 24, 1975, as a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man".

In February, 1990, the Senate spent 3 days debating a resolution similar to the 1975 House resolution. It was introduced by Senator Bob Dole who availed the Senate of a massive amount of evidence which was read into the record to demonstrate to his colleagues the historical truth about the Armenian genocide.

Two objections were raised at the time: that the full historical record was yet to be established, and that the resolution was not in the national security interest of the United States.

Chairman GILMAN. If I might interrupt our good witness for a moment, a vote has been called and there may be a 5-minute vote. I am going to ask our members to go ahead and cast their vote. We will continue the hearing in the interim. Thank you. Forgive me for interrupting you. Please proceed.

Dr. ADALIAN. Two objections were raised at the time: that the full historical record was yet to be established, and that the resolution was not in the national security interest of the United States in view of its alliance with the Republic of Turkey, a valued member of NATO.

Turkey's value as a NATO ally should not be a lever to force the United States to deny the undeniable or to coerce the United States into silence about its own history and its own record.

The only thing left to consider is whether Turkey will itself resign from persisting in its campaign to deny the Armenian genocide. That, however, is a concern that needs to be divorced from the central objective which this committee must focus upon, and that is the reaffirmation of the American record on the Armenian geno-

cide and the agreement of Congress with the U.S. Court of Appeals that the 1982 State Department views "contradicted longstanding U.S. policy", and that any retractions since by the Department have proven insufficient in clarifying the U.S. position in view of the continuing reluctance of U.S. administrations to state that position in the affirmative.

At the very least, Congress should adopt the resolution under consideration as an important symbolic first step in an eventual permanent reaffirmation. What is ultimately required is for the President and the Congress to speak with one voice about the Armenian genocide as a historical fact based on the evidence of the American record.

I want to conclude by taking this occasion to inform the committee that the Board of Trustees and Directors of the Armenian Assembly of America announced this April 24 the formation of a new research center in Washington, DC, to be called the Armenian National Institute, dedicated to the purpose of collecting and preserving all the obtainable evidence on the Armenian genocide.

In so doing, the project seeks to create the conditions for the universal acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide as historical fact documented to the satisfaction of international opinion. That concludes my oral testimony. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Dr. Adalian.

Dr. McCarthy.

Dr. MCCARTHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Again, Dr. McCarthy, you may submit your full statement of record. You might want to summarize.

[The prepared statement of Dr. McCarthy appears in the appendix.]

STATEMENT OF DR. JUSTIN MCCARTHY, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Dr. MCCARTHY. Thank you. The history of the Armenian/Turkish conflict is complicated and contentious, impossible to describe accurately in statements of one-sided guilt such as that presently before Congress.

Ethnic conflicts between Turks and Armenians actually began more than 100 years before World War I. Actions of the Russian Empire precipitated the conflict. In 1800, Armenians were scattered within and beyond a region that now encompasses Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Eastern Turkey.

In all but small districts, Armenians were a minority which had been under Muslim, primarily Turkish rule for 700 years. The Russian Empire had begun the imperial conquest of the Muslim land south of the Caucasus Mountains. One of their main weapons was the transfer of populations, deportation.

They ruthlessly expelled whole Muslim populations, replacing them with Christians whom they felt would be loyal to the Christian Government. Armenians were a major instrument of this policy. Many Armenians resented being under Muslim rule and they were drawn to a Christian State and to offers of free land which had been seized from Turks and other Muslims. A major population exchange began.

In Erivan Province, today the Armenian Republic, a Turkish majority was replaced by Armenians. In other regions, other Christian groups were brought in to replace expelled Muslims. There was massive Muslim mortality. In some cases up to one-third of the Muslims died.

The Russians expelled 1.3 million Muslims from 1827 to 1878. One result of this migration, serving the purposes of the Russians, was the development of ethnic hatred and ethnic conflict between Armenians and Muslims.

The situation was exacerbated by rebellions of Armenian revolutionaries in the 1890's in which cities in Eastern Anatolia were seized and many Muslims and Armenians were killed and by inter-communal warfare between Turks and Armenians in Azerbaijan in 1905.

Muslims and Armenians had become antagonists. Each group believed that in a war they would be killed. And if they did not kill first, that they would die, a classic self-fulfilling prophecy. Most Muslims and most Armenians had no wish to be a part of this, but they were caught in the awful consequences of their expectations and their history.

Intercommunal war erupted when the Ottoman Empire entered World War I. Armenian revolutionaries, many trained in Russia, attempted to seize main Ottoman cities in Eastern Anatolia. They took the city of Van and held it until Russian invaders arrived, killing all but a few of the Muslims of the city and surrounding villages.

In the countryside, Muslim tribesmen killed the Armenians who fell into their hands. The killing went on until 1920. Many more died of starvation and disease than from bullets.

More than 40 percent of the Anatolian Armenians died. Similar mortality was the fate of the Muslims of the war zone. In the province of Van, for example, 60 percent of the Muslims were lost by war's end.

During the war, each side engaged in de facto deportations. When the Russians and Armenians triumphed, all the Muslims were exiled as were all the Armenians when the Ottomans triumphed. The Ottoman Government also organized an official deportation of Armenians in areas under their control. None of these deportations was wholly justified by wartime necessity. But the deportations were not acts of one-sided genocide on the part of either the Turks or the Armenians.

It is the Muslim actions against the Armenians that have been called genocide, an accusation that is primarily based on counting only the Armenian dead, not the Muslim dead. I do not believe the Ottoman Government ever intended a genocide of Armenians, and I believe this conclusion is based on both evidence and logic.

Of the masses of secret deportation orders seen to date, not one orders murder. Instead, they order Ottoman officials to protect deported Armenians. It has been argued that the Ottomans must have sent out another set of secret orders contradicting the first set of secret orders which were a subterfuge. This assumes that the Ottomans deliberately confused their own officials in war time so that future historians would be fooled, a more than unlikely proposition.

Large Armenian populations such as those of Istanbul and other major cities remained throughout the war. These were areas where Ottoman power was greatest and genocide would have been easiest. To decide whether genocide was intended, it is instructive to compare this to the Nazi genocide of the Jews. The Jews of Berlin were killed, their synagogues defiled. The Armenians of Istanbul lived through the war, their churches open.

Another telling argument against genocide is that hundreds of thousands of Armenians survived deportation to the Arab world. If genocide were intended, it must be believed that the Ottomans could not manage to kill them, even though these Armenians were completely under Ottoman control for 3 years. This is not believable.

It was in fact in the regions where Ottoman control was weakest that columns of Armenian deportees suffered the most. The stories of the time give many examples of columns of hundreds of Armenians guarded by perhaps two government guards. When the columns were attacked by tribesmen or bandits, Armenians were robbed and killed. It must be remembered that these tribes were those who had themselves suffered greatly at the hands of Armenians and Russians.

Were the Ottomans guilty? They were guilty of not properly protecting their citizens. Given the situation of the time with Turks and Kurds fighting for their lives, against Russians and Armenians, this is understandable, although it is never excusable for a government not to protect its own people.

While Ottoman weakness should be censured, should we not also ask how well Armenians and Russians protected the Turks and Kurds who fell under their control? The answer is that in provinces such as Van where intercommunal fighting was fiercest, Muslims who could not escape from Armenian bands were killed. Virtually the entire Muslim population of Southeast and Far Eastern Anatolia either became refugees or died. Like the deportations of Armenians, this too was a deportation with great mortality. It should also be recorded when the evils of deportation are considered.

Few of the historical questions raised by the Muslim Armenian conflict can be answered in short descriptions such as the above. Nor can they be answered by congressional votes.

Why then has Congress sometimes in the past voted condemnation of one side in the conflict? One reason is that we have all been conditioned to expect the world of heroes and villains or victims and villains. This feeling has sometimes caused Americans to misinterpret events, particularly in the Middle East.

However, it is the Holocaust of the Jews that most deeply and properly affects us. Our remembrance of the evils of Nazi Germany has unfortunately caused us to see other events of history through the glass of the Holocaust.

In the Holocaust, an innocent people was persecuted and annihilated. There was no Jewish threat to the German state. Yet, the full force of a modern State was mobilized to slaughter the innocent and we naturally think of the Holocaust when we evaluate other examples of inhumanity.

But no event of history can compare to the Holocaust. Indeed in history most loss of civilian life has taken place in wars in which both sides were armed, both sides fought and both sides were victims. World War I in Anatolia was such a war. Assuming one-sided evil has led to an unfortunate approach to the history of the Armenians and the Turks. Instead of investigating the history of the time without prejudice, all the guilt has been attached to one side. Accusations against the Turks have been broadcast widely while refutations have generally been known only to historians.

There is no time in the short statement to consider all the effects of prejudice and the power of ethnic groups in America. It can simply be said that few wish to consider any but anti-Turkish statements. Only recently have studies questioning conventional beliefs begun to appear.

Should what I say here prove to the U.S. Congress that——

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. McCarthy, I regret that we are going to have to interrupt you. We have 4 or 5 minutes left to vote on this measure and then another 5-minute vote. We will recess our hearing temporarily until the voting is over. The committee is in recess.

[Recess.]

Mr. BURTON. Chairman Gilman is going to be over on the floor for a while. So they asked me to conduct this hearing until he returns. I understand that Dr. McCarthy was testifying when we recessed, is that correct?

Dr. MCCARTHY. Yes.

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. McCarthy, will you resume and the others will be back shortly.

Dr. MCCARTHY. Nothing like a couple of arguments and a recess to get your blood going for the rest of the testimony.

Mr. BURTON. We are used to that in the Congress I can tell you.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I was speaking of the problems of approaching this issue from what I believe to be a one-sided basis. And I stated that there is no time in the short statement to consider all the effects of prejudice and the power of ethnic groups in America. It can simply be said that few have ever wished to consider any but anti-Turkish statements on this issue. Only recently have studies questioning conventional beliefs begun to appear.

Generations of Americans have been raised with one set of beliefs and those who have brought up opposing views have been vilified, their arguments unconsidered. Sadly for those of us who firmly believe that the Holocaust took place, some scholars of the genocide of the Jews have attacked any reconsideration of Armenian/Turkish relations out of a fear that this will somehow give comfort to those who, against all evidence, disavow the Holocaust. It must also be admitted that we academics have been unwilling to undertake studies of Armenian/Turkish relations because of problems with career advancement and even physical dangers.

Should what I say here prove to the U.S. Congress the Turks were not guilty of one-sided genocide against Armenians? No. Nor should the statements of those with opposing views convince the Congress that their views are correct. The historical questions are too involved for easy answers or quick condemnations.

History should be determined by the normal procedures of historians. We should write our books and engage in debates until we

gradually come to accepted conclusions. Turkish scholars, Armenian scholars and those of us who are neither Turks nor Armenians should not feel that Congress has decided that the issue is resolved when we know that that is not the case. Such action can only hinder real investigation of the historical question.

There is a very real threat to scholarship when one group of scholars must face the awful and undeserved title, used against me a few minutes ago, of genocide denier. They should not have to face this when they are trying to do their proper work.

There is a statement on the Turkish/Armenian conflict that Congress can justifiably pass, but it is a generally humanitarian statement. The lesson to be learned from the World War I experience of the Turks and the Armenians is not that one group was evil, one group good. The lesson is that good people, whatever their ethnic group or religion, can be driven by events, their environment and their history to do evil because they believe they have no choice.

In the history of war that is all too often the case. The moral to be drawn is not that one side, one ethnic group, should be blamed. That is an historical error and a wrong that perpetuates the ethnic hatred that caused the disaster of the Armenians as well as the disaster of the Turks. The events of World War I should be honored and mourned as a human, not an ethnic tragedy. If the Congress is to make a statement on the events of World War I, I would hope it would be a statement of pity for all those who suffered that terrible history. Thank you.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Dr. McCarthy. I will start the questioning and then I will yield to our distinguished ranking Democrat, Mr. Hamilton. You made an important point about the Russian Empire promoting Turkish/Armenian hatred. Can you elaborate on that just briefly?

Dr. MCCARTHY. The Russian Empire actually began back in the 1600's to expand into areas that were almost entirely Muslim. This includes the Crimea, which was 98, 99 percent Muslim. It includes area of the Caucasus and later on many other areas. Many of these are areas such as Chechnya where there is warfare today. But in these areas, the Russians used a species of demographic warfare to try to make sure that they held onto these areas; most prominently the areas of the Circassians, the areas that are on the best land of the Black Sea where they took up to 1.2 million Muslim people and either killed or ejected them. At the end of that time, only 800,000 had survived. These were given a home in the Ottoman Empire.

Unfortunately, many of the areas in which they were given a home where these refugees were taken in, were also areas where Armenians lived. There had been ongoing a population exchange in which the Russians had forced out Muslims, mostly Turks, and moved Armenians into areas where there had not been Armenians before, at least not in centuries.

This meant that the hatred caused by these Russian actions divided the people so that they expected, if there was a war, their homes would be taken away and they would be killed. And this was an expectation that was matched by both the Turks and the Armenians. It was expected by both sides. And it ultimately unfortunately led to most of the disaster of World War I.

Mr. BURTON. I will not ask a lot of questions. I would just like to say to my Armenian friends, the two professors, the doctor and the professor that testified, everybody abhors war. And we all, I think, acknowledge that there were horrible things that happened during that period. So I do not want you to think that we are insensitive. I am on the human rights caucus and I have been fighting a lot of battles for human rights around the world and fighting against human rights abuses in a number of areas in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere, and India and so forth.

So I am very sympathetic to the concerns that you expressed here today. I am sure that there were some atrocities that took place against the Armenians. I am also very confident that there were atrocities that took place on the other side as well.

My big concern is not that they did not occur, but there is enough blame to go around. You quoted I think, doctor, that there were 100 academicians and professors who said that this did take place. I have here before me an article that was signed by 70 leading historians and academicians that say that it is distorted, that it did not take place as has been depicted in the Armenian genocide theory.

And so there is a difference of opinion. And when that difference of opinion takes place, I think it is prudent for the U.S. Congress to be very careful about passing a resolution that hurts one side or the other, particularly when you view Turkey, as I view it, as a friend and ally.

Now, Turkey was part of the Ottoman Empire. There were 25 other countries that were not mentioned in this genocide treaty or in this genocide resolution. They were a part of it as well. And so at the very least, this is not thorough enough of a resolution. But in addition to that, I think to take one side or the other, this is my own personal opinion and does not reflect the entire committee as you know. But I think for us to take one side or the other would be the wrong thing to do.

And with that I will be happy to yield to my colleague, Mr. Hamilton, if he has any questions.

Mr. HAMILTON. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you and Chairman Gilman for having the hearing and certainly we welcome our three distinguished witnesses. Let me simply observe that I am very pleased that the Republic of Armenia today is moving ahead with democratic and economic reforms. There is not any better way to honor the misdeeds of the past than to rededicate ourselves to the future.

I am exceedingly interested in what happens to this country of roughly 3.3 million people today. They are developing important ties to the United States. And I think we in this country have a national interest in seeing the Republic of Armenia move toward democratic reforms, a free market economy and democratic institutions.

So my interest is less on the past than the present and I would like for you to help me out on a couple of matters. Describe for me today if you would the relationship between Turkey and Armenia. I have been hearing, for example, that the foreign ministers have been meeting and that they have regular meetings from time to time. But what is happening there today?

Dr. ADALIAN. If I may, Congressman, I appreciate the question. Indeed, Armenia is trying very hard to establish normal and neighborly relations with Turkey which it regards as its opening to the West. But regrettably 5 years after independence, diplomatic relations have not been established and namely because Turkey has been reluctant to do so.

There is enormous tension on the Armenian border. Most recently there were firings from the Turkish side which raise all sorts of questions. What exactly is Turkey entertaining to do? And this in spite of the fact that the President of Armenia has made an unconditional offer to establish formal diplomatic relations with Turkey. And yet, that offer repeated numerous times has not been taken up from the Turkish side. Five years after independence and the breakup of the Soviet Union, that certainly raises a lot of questions.

Mr. HAMILTON. Your impression is that the Republic of Armenia is seeking to establish regular or normal relations with Turkey and Turkey is turning down those overtures.

Dr. ADALIAN. That is exactly right.

Mr. HAMILTON. All right. Dr. Marashlian.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. That is true. Turkey has been dragging its feet in terms of developing relations and part of the reason is connected to the Armenian genocide. This is a deep-rooted enmity that goes back into the history of both peoples and in Turkey it is a serious problem. That is why there is a lot of foot dragging taking place.

So all this is related. This is why resolving this issue, if Turkey were to acknowledge the genocide, would pave the way. It would eliminate this animosity that goes back so many years.

You are right, Congressman Burton, that it is 80 years old, but there is a relevance today for both peoples because it is easy to forget the past when there is an atonement, when one side who hurt the other side admits it and says it happened a long time ago, and so forth. But when there is no atonement, when the perpetrator of the crime says that the victim committed the crime, it is difficult to eliminate this issue from the thinking of both peoples.

May I respond to something Congressman Burton said about those 69 scholars who signed that ad in 1985? Out of those 69, only 18 were specialists in the field pertaining to this history and out of those 18 only around 4 of them work specifically on the Armenian issue and afterwards several of them recanted and one of the people who signed it said, a scholar who signed it, "I shall never become part of any attempt to deny the victimization, massacres or genocide of the Armenian people perpetrated between 1915 and 1923."

Another scholar said, "Let me first say that I do not question that massive numbers of Armenians perished during World War I as a result of criminal and even genocidal intents." This is a signatory to that. And there are several others that I could go through, several signatories later said that it was a genocide.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I think that you see one of the problems of approaching historical issues in this particular way. I disagree with I would say a good 97 percent of what Professor Marashlian has just said. However, I do not believe that the forum or the time is

available to go into that. So I just wish to answer what was actually your question.

It is true that the history of the area is affecting things tremendously. There is right now a large section of Azerbaijan, even outside of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is occupied by the Armenian Republic. This is considered to be a very important negative aspect by the Turks, a negative thing to setting up formal relations. I think that if that issue was settled, however it might be settled, and there are points on both sides, however it was settled, then you would see a normalization of relations that would benefit both people.

Mr. HAMILTON. One other question I would like to put to you. I saw just this month that a military cooperation agreement was signed between Armenia and Russia that calls for strengthening military ties between the two countries. Now, what are the implications of that? Are we going to see close military ties between Russia and Armenia and what is the implication of that for U.S. policy?

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Well, there is a close relationship. And again, it is related to the genocide issue. Armenians have legitimately an apprehension when it comes to their border to the west, they are trying to establish good neighbor relations, but Armenia has been trying more than Turkey has. Because of this apprehension going back 80 years today, Armenia feels that it needs Russia as a protector.

That is why if this issue were to be resolved, as I said in my testimony, then Armenia would have the ability to perhaps deal with Russian interests in their region with more balance instead of thinking that it needs Russia as a protector against Turkey. So these issues are directly related; resolving the genocide issue once and for all would benefit Armenia and Turkey. And it would be easier for Turkey to have more access to the East into Central Asia if this old enmity is finally removed from the agenda.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I think the last time that Turkey or the Ottoman Empire actually conquered territory, or attempted to conquer territory, in that region of the world to hold it was in the 1700's. It was in the very early 1700's. And they actually took it hundreds of years before that.

I think with the Ter-Petrossian Government as well as with Aliiev and others in Azerbaijan, you are dealing with practical people who are considering practical political problems. I find it very hard to believe that when they make a treaty or do not make a treaty with the Russians it is based on historical considerations of genocide. It is especially instructive that the government of Georgia has also increasingly been drawn into the Soviet military's sphere without any history of this kind of genocide going on. I believe it is a matter of a traditional Russian expansion to the south, which has been going on for many hundreds of years and I see no reason to believe that that is not attempting to—

Mr. HAMILTON. How should we react to this, the United States?

Dr. MCCARTHY. Well, unfortunately, projecting power into that would be, I believe, a great difficulty. I do not believe we can react to that other than diplomatically, at least as much as we can given domestic politics, an even handed approach. And that we can try

to economically develop the area. I believe there is nothing that would so stand in the way of Russian expansionism as the economic development of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Mr. HAMILTON. So you think our best policy, thinking of it in terms of U.S. interests, would be to try to encourage the reform efforts now going forward in the Republic of Armenia toward—

Dr. MCCARTHY. Not just Armenia, but also Azerbaijan and Georgia. I believe it is important that we even handedly approach those three.

Dr. ADALIAN. If I may Congressman, I think the case is being overstated here. I am not aware that the fact that a treaty is signed between Russia and Armenia should be read as a gesture of Russian expansionism. Armenia is an independent republic and has signed a treaty as an equal here with Russia.

And if there is motivation there as to why it needs to consider its security concerns at the moment, much of it stems from the fact that Armenia finds that it is under blockade from both sides, that it has a neighbor to the west, Turkey, that is maintaining that blockade despite the passage of some 5 years, and enormous effort to establish better relations that those existing have not improved the situation.

Today Turkey is conducting military exercises on the very border of Armenia when Armenia has presented never ever a military threat to that country. And there has never been any reason why anything of the sort should be done.

Mr. HAMILTON. I am not aware that I used the word treaty. That is not my recollection of what happened earlier this month. I think it was a military accord.

Dr. ADALIAN. Series of military accords.

Mr. HAMILTON. Not a treaty.

Dr. ADALIAN. I did not mean it in that sense.

Mr. HAMILTON. Thank you, very much.

Mr. BURTON. Chairman Gilman would like to ask a question.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you. Dr. Adalian, what efforts have been undertaken, if any, to organize and improve access to the archives to the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to the 1918 period?

Dr. ADALIAN. There have been numerous declarations from Turkey about the opening of those archives, but anyone who has tried to actually access any material, if they have been allowed, has proven that the effort is fruitless. If it is the position of the State that no evidence exists, then how can anybody turn up any evidence? And if there was evidence, then one has to presume that all of that has been cleaned up, and that is the explanation why the government of Turkey feels comfortable in opening those archives.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you. Dr. Marashlian, why do you believe that Turkey refuses to recognize those events between 1915 and 1918 as a genocide?

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Well, it is natural, first of all. It is human nature, I suppose, when one is guilty of a crime. It is human nature to try to deny it. A murderer denies. A thief denies. So part of it is human nature. No one likes to have that as part of his history, especially a genocide.

You would have to ask that to the Turkish Government. I think they are making a mistake. I think if they were to recognize it, if

they had recognized it a long time ago, it would not keep coming up. It would not be a burden, an albatross around their necks. So the Turkish Government has to answer that question.

Chairman GILMAN. Is Armenia concerned that Turkey's refusal to accept any U.S. recognition of the events between 1915 and 1918 as a genocide might interfere with Armenia's efforts to improve relations with Turkey? I submit that to the entire panel.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. On the contrary. I think recognition by the Congress would send a strong signal to the Turkish Government that this issue has to be resolved. I think it would encourage them, encourage the Turkish Government to resolve this issue. Because inside Turkey there are Turks in increasing numbers who themselves have come to the conclusion that it has to be acknowledged.

There is a Turkish historian whose name is Tanuk Akcam. He wrote a book a couple of years ago in which he specifically said, and this is a Turkish historian, he specifically said it was a genocide and he said that this issue is affecting today's Turkish policy and that Turkish historians said that it goes to the heart of what Turkey is. And once this issue is resolved through an acknowledgment, through an atonement, then Turkey can move on.

Chairman GILMAN. Other panelists have any comments? Dr. McCarthy.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I would like to point out that indeed, this historian does exist. He has written in Turkish in books published in Turkey. Almost all Turkish historians disagree with him, but the fact that these are published in Turkey is an interesting statement.

If I could possibly speak about the Ottoman archives, because I think I am possibly the only person in the room who has ever used the Ottoman archives. It is true that there are many things that are not yet available in the Ottoman archives. There are literally millions of documents that are gradually being done. I do think anyone would say that the situation of publication is much greater than it has ever been before, although there is still much to be done.

But I would ask that it would also be recognized that the archives, the secret archives, of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation who are the people I believe were involved in the other side of this two-sided situation, that they have never been opened and never been seen by anyone. And I would ask that the Russia archives, the Armenian archives and the Turkish archives all be open to scholarly investigation.

Chairman GILMAN. To the entire panel, what can we best do to bring Armenia and Turkey closer together?

Dr. ADALIAN. A number of things, if I may. Congress has passed legislation. The Humanitarian Aid Corridor Act, for instance, which essentially would require that Turkey remove this blockade. If a blockade is imposed, it is a very serious impediment in the development of relations between States. Similarly, a resolution in putting this matter behind us as far as the American record on the Armenia Genocide, that too would certainly strengthen the possibilities of developing relations, as well as the economic strengthening of the region, all of which the United States is very well positioned to contribute to tremendously.

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. Marashlian.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. In terms of the archives, it is an important point. Common sense tells us that archives that have been kept secret for decades in the hands of the party responsible for being accused of a crime, to think that they have not been doctored, that they have not been cleaned, I think defies common sense.

But there is already so much evidence from Turkish sources to indicate what happened and this evidence is available. One Turkish source is a general, General Vehib, who in 1919 testified in court in Istanbul. He testified and he said, General Vehib of the Turkish Army, said, "The massacres and destruction of the Armenians and the plunder and pillage of their goods were the results of decisions reached by the Idihadist Central Committee," that means the government. "The atrocities were carried out under a program that was determined upon and involved a definite case of premeditation." This is a published source in Istanbul in 1919, a Turkish general testifying in a Turkish court. Why do you need archives to prove something that has already been proven?

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. McCarthy, a question about what we can do.

Dr. MCCARTHY. Once again I will ignore my disagreements with Dr. Marashlian and simply say that—

Dr. Marashlian. Not with me, with General Vehib.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I believe that the most important thing that the U.S. Government can do is to support economic integration in every case that is possible. I believe especially our concern with the investments of Chevron and other American companies in the Caspian Sea region with the construction of pipelines that will insofar as possible not go up through Russia but go to other areas. I believe that those are the most important things we could do. I think they are much more important than anything that can be done on issues such as this.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you. I have to go to another meeting and I want to thank our panelists for taking the time to give us the benefit of your expertise, and evaluations of the problems in Armenia and Turkey. We appreciate that and we will be looking further at this issue in the days to come. Thank you for being here and please forgive me for having to run to another meeting. I turn the Chair over to Congressman Chris Smith, who is the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee.

Mr. SMITH. [Presiding] Thank you, very much, Mr. Gilman. Many of the questions have already been asked, but let me ask just a couple of questions. Dr. McCarthy, you heard Dr. Adalian mention a moment ago some of the things that this government could do or can do to alleviate some of the suffering in the situation in that part of the world, such as the Humanitarian Corridors Act.

I am the prime sponsor of that bill. It passed the House and the Senate. It went to the President as part of a larger State Department bill and regrettably for other reasons, we think at least, it was vetoed—though I do not think the Administration was too happy with that language anyway. What is your view on the Humanitarian Corridors Act?

Dr. MCCARTHY. I would like to see it balanced by some action of a similar nature toward Azerbaijan, but I believe that having a humanitarian corridor, at least in theory, is an excellent idea. But

again I would ask that the Congress consider balancing both sides in that equation rather than simply saying that one side has to have a corridor opened up. I think all sides have to get together and I hope that the Americans would diplomatically facilitate that.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Adalian, do you have any response to that? I know you are in favor of the Corridors Act. Do you think that, as written, it is sufficient?

Dr. ADALIAN. It is sufficient. It simply needs to be enforced. There is no reason why an ally of the United States should be impeding the efforts of an independent State to establish better relations with the West and with the United States. And that blockade is certainly interfering with that. There is no reason why that should be tolerated.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Dr. McCarthy said that it should be balanced. How can it be balanced when only one side is blockading? Armenia is not blockading anybody. If anybody wants to fly over Armenia delivering aid, they are perfectly free to and they can. It is Turkey that is blockading. So there is no need for—as it is written it is already balanced. Any country that does blockade, that does prevent humanitarian aid from going through, it applies to them. If Armenia in the future ever were to do that, which it would not, then it would apply to Armenia. So already it is balanced.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. McCarthy.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I would simply say that there are a number of ways that humanitarian aid can arrive at the Armenian Republic. There are borders that would allow people to fly over Georgia, over Azerbaijan, through Iran, over Turkey and over large sections of what used to be the Soviet Union. I believe that ultimately the only way for the survival of all the people in that area is to get a more lasting peace than simply saying that a short corridor should be opened. There are obviously questions of national sovereignty and international law to be considered in these things too, but I do not feel competent to go into those myself.

Mr. SMITH. OK. On the balance issue, since we have heard from everyone, I want to know that the language of the bill was written in a way that was not country-specific but obviously would have implications for Turkey, our ally and friend and a recipient of U.S. foreign aid. And I frankly find it outrageous that any country would blockade U.S. medicines and foodstuffs and other humanitarian aid.

When we had the argument here in this committee and on the floor, many members who were not acquainted with it said this might have implications in a positive way elsewhere, particularly Africa. But the language of the Humanitarian Corridors Act was not country-specific, and would have applied to any country including Armenia, which to my knowledge does not blockade either. So I am baffled by your comments about it.

Dr. MCCARTHY. Well, I was simply saying that I think in the long run it would be better for all countries to be involved in that. I think it is important to state that you are asking, at least in my case, an Ottoman historian for a statement on these areas that really the Republic of Turkey, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Georgia and Azerbaijan, that they are really the ones to answer that.

I was simply stating that I believe that all the States in the area have to come to a long-term conclusion to their difficulties before we get a real solution. That is as far as I would wish to go.

Mr. SMITH. Would you be competent to speak to the human rights situation in Turkey? Because in your comment a moment ago, when you talked about the historian in passing, in effect—you said that speaks volumes or something to that extent about press freedom in Turkey. I, in addition to chairing the International Human Rights Committee on this full committee, chair the Helsinki Commission. And we had a very lengthy hearing on the human rights situation in Turkey, and it is an abomination on issue after issue. Torture and other kinds of atrocities occur and yet the Turkish Government is in denial, if you will, about those atrocities as well.

Dr. MCCARTHY. Well, my friends to the left of me may wish to speak on that, I do not feel that probably any of us is professionally competent to speak on that sort of area. And I wish to make it very plain that I am not in any sense representing the Republic of Turkey, the views of the Republic of Turkey. I am paid by the State of Kentucky and my views are completely my own.

Mr. SMITH. OK. But you advanced an opinion on the Humanitarian Corridors Act which does not—

Dr. MCCARTHY. Again, my own opinion and you will remember it was, I believe, supportive of the idea of Humanitarian Corridors. I think that should be understood. But it is purely that. It is a theoretical statement. I do not believe that I am myself professionally competent to speak about the political or the diplomatic dimensions of that. I am as an historian capable of speaking about long-term implications of countries being at war, or even at cold war, with each other and that is what I intended to speak on. That is all.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. Congressman, it seems to me that anyone should be competent to speak on the human rights issue. One does not have to be an expert to know that it is wrong when in 1995 or 1996 when soldiers of a country hold up decapitated heads of people they have attacked which is what happened in Turkey, several Turkish soldiers, this photograph was printed in a British newspaper this year, showing off decapitated heads with glee.

That is a serious human rights violation. It is happening right now. And in Turkey the attacks on the Kurds are a serious matter. And here again, I think if the Turkish Government were to realize that the world is not going to forget the Armenian genocide, I think they may decide to treat their Kurdish citizens, their 12 to 15 million Kurdish citizens, with more respect, give them more human rights if they would learn that a political settlement is necessary, not through violence.

In other words, resolving the Armenian genocide issue would send a signal that if you do it again, what is happening to the Kurds is approaching genocidal levels, and if Turkey does not have to account for the Armenian genocide 80 years ago, some in Turkey may be encouraged to do it again. Resolving something 80 years ago would send a message that you can run but you cannot hide and it would affect the Kurdish issue today.

Mr. SMITH. That is precisely why, in addition to trying to hold those who commit crimes accountable, the war crimes tribunal is

so important for Rwanda as well as for Bosnia. If the despots and the killers and the murderers can get away with it, they will learn from that and do it again. I agree that the Kurdish situation may not be on the same scale as the Armenian genocide, but it certainly has some of the same hallmarks. People are being killed, children, women are being raped. Unfortunately, some of our machinery may have been used in that killing.

And I also think something needs to be said about closure as I think you are hinting at. Under Conrad Adenauer, Germany's past was very quickly put behind it. As Dwight D. Eisenhower said when he went into the camps, "Keep them open so that never again will it happen." People will learn from this terrible misery. And Japan now is coming to grips with many of the things that it was in denial of for so many years, and I think that is helpful. That kind of venting I think helps to clear the air.

Just two final questions. Dr. Adalian, what is your opinion of the Clinton administration's refusal to affirm the Armenian genocide as an historical fact? What is behind it?

Dr. ADALIAN. It is evident, given the fact, that as a candidate Bill Clinton was prepared to recognize the Armenian genocide. Having taken office, he has since vacillated and declined to do so. It confirms this Administration and prior administrations are willing to indeed put up with the pressure from Turkey in order to reverse U.S. policy. There is no reason why it should be allowed and this Administration should be embarrassed for having done so.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. I think one of the reasons is the influence of the State Department. The State Department bureaucracy for decades has been extremely pro Turkish. And Turkey does have a value for the United States. That is true.

But going back to 1919, in the State Department, through Admiral Mark Bristol and through Allen Dulles and through others, a core of bureaucratic sort of tradition has been established whereby the Turkish position is taken almost automatically. And whenever a President gets into office, into the White House, I think he comes under the influence of the State Department a little too much, especially in a case like this.

Mr. SMITH. Would any of you like to add anything?

Dr. MCCARTHY. I just find it interesting and refreshing to hear the admission that there is a sizable amount of American diplomatic personnel, and others who have some idea of this, who have consistently been against the statement of an Armenian genocide. I think that is worth considering as well. I also think that undoubtedly my colleagues wish to say that it has been both Democratic and Republican administrations in recent years that have not passed this. They have not put through this genocide statement from the executive branch.

Dr. ADALIAN. It would seem that the court's decision on this matter is quite clear and that there has been a reversal of U.S. policy as I clearly demonstrated here. The United States until 1982 was very consistent on the matter of the Armenian genocide. There were numerous decisions, numerous resolutions, numerous acts of policy as indicated by the actions taken by numerous ambassadors from 1915 onwards. There has been a reversal and this is what the debate is about. That needs to be rectified.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. And one piece of evidence was Ambassador Henry Morgenthau who said the following: "Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, to implement wholesale expulsions and deportation from one end of the empire to the other, frequently accompanied by rape, pillage and murder turning into massacre." That is our ambassador, who is part of the State Department.

So there was disagreement. There has been disagreement in the State Department. There still is until today. And unfortunately, some officials and bureaucrats in the State Department are being misguided by Turkish bluster, by frankly Turkish bluff about American Turkish relations will be hurt or something. All that is a smoke screen.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate your comments very much. Just let me say that I think that comment is very insightful about the State Department. I have been in Congress for 16 years and I have worked on human rights for each of those 16 years. In country after country where the State Department has taken a very strong go-along-to-get-along approach. When we have confronted it with facts and with documentation, it has often taken years to get the Administration, Democrat or Republican, to reverse itself.

A classic case would be Romania. For years we were the best friend that Nicholas Ceaucescu had. We gave him Most Favored Nation status. We lifted him up as if he somehow had something that warranted emulation in Eastern and Central Europe. And yet his securitate was probably if not the worst, one of the worst secret polices known to mankind.

Frank Wolf, a Congressman from Virginia, and I, as you may know, led the effort to deny him. It took us 3 years and we heard such shallow statements coming out of the State Department such as, "Well, they came to the Olympics in Los Angeles." Or, "They have different foreign policy vis-a-vis Moscow." And all of it turned out to be nothing but a ruse, especially when it came to their foreign policy. It was, as you probably know from history, a very deliberate attempt to deceive.

We also saw the same kind of thing happening in other countries. You can roll your eyes, Dr. McCarthy, but we get that kind of feedback from the State Department on human rights. Human rights are always subordinated to curry favor with whoever is in power. We are doing it right now in China. Li Peng and the Chinese dictatorship have shown themselves to be getting worse when it comes to human rights.

Bill Clinton, then a candidate, had it right when he said that we needed to link Most Favored Nation status and human rights with trade. A year later, after human rights got worse, his executive order proved to be fruitless because the Administration ripped it up. The State Department had a major impact trying to coddle these dictators, which is what the President accused George Bush of doing.

Amnesty International has been in this room, has testified before my subcommittee, and has said very, very succinctly: this Administration looks at human rights, but treats the issue like an island,

unconnected to policy. They will say nice things about caring about human rights, but it is an island when it comes to implementation of policy. And it seems to me that when there have been egregious human rights abuses in the past that at least coming to closure on those and recognizing them, as we are attempting to do with the Armenian genocide, is the least that we can do. At least state it the way it is. And you obviously disagree, Dr. McCarthy.

Dr. MCCARTHY. I wish to apologize if you felt that I was rolling my eyes. It has more to do with having a cold than any intention of rolling my eyes.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I am glad to hear that. I appreciate that. I thank you all for your testimony. It is helpful and I think this issue will be confronted by the committee as well as by the full House. That is the way it ought to be.

Dr. MARASHLIAN. May I add one thing, since we are talking about genocide? We have in the room today two survivors of the Armenian genocide, two women who witnessed the atrocities we have been talking about. Two women who perhaps were saved by Edith Woods, the nurse that I mentioned, and they are here. Their names are Ashken Shamigian and Berjouhi Shamigian. They are in their 90's and they are here as eyewitnesses to the things we have been talking about academically. I think it is important to recognize their presence.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for being here and for your testimony. This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the committee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

Chairman Benjamin A. Gilman
 Opening Statement
 International Relations Committee
 Hearing on the History of the Armenian Genocide
 Wednesday, May 15, 1996 10 A.M.
 2172 Rayburn Building

The Committee will come to order.

This morning the Committee is pleased to have the opportunity to take testimony from three academicians who specialize in the history and politics of the Caucasus and Middle East regions.

I want to welcome before the Committee Professor Levon Marashlian, Professor of History at Glendale Community College in Glendale, California; Dr. Rouben Adalian, Adjunct Professor of History at Georgetown University and George Washington University; and Dr. Justin McCarthy, Professor of History at the University of Louisville in Louisville, Kentucky. Gentlemen, thank you for taking time from your busy schedules to appear before the International Relations Committee today.

The Committee hopes to draw on your academic expertise, particularly on the events that took place in the former Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918 --- events that led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Armenian citizens of that state in a tragedy now referred to as the "Armenian Genocide." The deaths of so many Armenians in the early years of this century left an indelible imprint on the lives of those who survived and on their descendants. The Committee would like to hear from our witnesses today about the causes of those atrocities.

I myself am interested to learn your opinions on whether average people --- citizens of the Ottoman Empire at that time --- were driven into a cycle of violence that ultimately led to all-out ethnic warfare, or whether the atrocities conducted against Armenian citizens were simply part of a state-sponsored plan to eradicate that population.

I noted a column in last Sunday's "Washington Post" by Mr. Peter Maass, a reporter who has covered the recent war in Bosnia. In his column, Maass stated the following:

"During 1992 and 1993, I met many Serbs who were participating in the attempted genocide against the Muslims. These were ordinary people, and they had been turned into killers, or accomplices to killers, in a very quick, unforeseeable way. It didn't take that much: just an immersion in hateful propaganda which instilled fear into some hearts, hatred into others, confusion into still more. And then the genocide happened."

Having read that column, I was most interested to hear from you gentlemen about this view of how ordinary people can be drawn up into a genocide against others. It may be difficult, even for historians such as yourselves, to know all the details of a history that is now over eighty years old. I believe that your answers are relevant, however, to the challenges Armenia and Turkey --- Armenians and Turks --- face today.

In short, can Armenia and Turkey live side by side in peace??

Can Armenia and Turkey, in spite of the horrible events of eight decades ago, build the cooperative relationship that both of their peoples truly need as we enter the Twenty-First Century??

Obviously, these are important issues. We certainly need to focus on the peace in the Middle East and the Caucasus, and for all of us who care about continued peace in those regions, those questions cannot be far from our thoughts as we review the events of 1915-18.

May 14, 1996

The Honorable Dan Burton
U.S. House of Representatives
2411 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Burton:

Tomorrow the Committee on International Relations will hold a hearing on the history of the alleged Armenian genocide. Although I am a Turkish diplomat, I am writing to offer my personal and first-hand views on this sensitive subject as a person whose husband was assassinated by an Armenian American in your country. Ambassador Kandemir already wrote last month to nearly all members of the House regarding the resolution associated with this issue (H. Con. Res. 47).

I do not wish to argue the merits of the genocide accusation. I wish to leave history to the unbiased research of historians, and I believe this is also the proper course for legislators. While it is frequently acknowledged that this issue is emotional for Armenians, it is equally emotional for Turks. Not only did Turks and other Muslims incur tragic losses during the period in dispute, I can personally attest to the pain associated with acts of terrorism carried out in the name of publicizing and endorsing the genocide allegation.

It was not until my first visit to the U.S. in 1973 that I learned first-hand about the hatred that was seething within the Armenian-American community. In January 1973, I was living in the United States as the wife of a diplomat posted to the Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles. My husband, Mr. Bahadir Demir, was the Turkish Consul. He and the Turkish Consul General were invited to lunch in Santa Barbara as a pretext for a premeditated assassination. Both were ruthlessly killed.

The assassin, Mr. Gourgen Yanikian, was an Armenian-American who was elevated to the status of a martyr. Just prior to the assassination, he submitted a 120-page manifesto to eight publications, declaring the beginning of a terrorist campaign. It asserted: "All of the representatives of the so-called Turkish government should be annihilated from this earth wherever they appear."

This was the first in over 20 terrorist attacks on U.S. soil by Armenian groups seeking to publicize genocide claims and mold public opinion. By the mid 1980's, some 78 innocent men, women and children had been killed in the name of avenging the alleged genocide. This also included American citizens.

Mr. Yanikian's trial exposed new levels of ethnic hatred. An Armenian organization bused students from UCLA and other Armenian-Americans to the trial. Second and third generation Americans jeered "Why did Yanikian invite just two of

them for lunch? Let's throw a 'friendship' luncheon for 80 and kill off the whole bunch." These young people were clearly taught to hate. When the accused was brought in, a large group of all ages, including 4 and 5 year olds, stood and bowed to him. Mrs. Helen Berkoz, a caring and brave American woman attending the trial was harassed and shoved out of line because she didn't speak Armenian. "This is an Armenian trial," she was told, "not a murder trial."

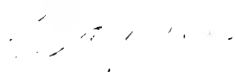
In his own defense, Yanikian testified: "I [did not] kill anybody...For me they are not human." Yet Yanikian was called a martyr, and funds were solicited from around the world for his defense. The prosecuting attorney, in his summation to the jury, said "I think the raw hatred which has been generated in this courtroom, the hatred of the Turkish people, picturing them as...unfit to live, is shocking to say the least."

The reaction of much of the Armenian community to the terrorist attacks was most disturbing. Most letters to the editor took a "We don't condone, but..." tone, followed by a tirade about the barbaric Turk.

This hatred was particularly alarming to me as I grew up in Istanbul among a very prosperous and respected community of Armenian Turks. Ara, who grew up next door to me, became a professor at the University of Istanbul. Our neighbor Dr. Keleshian earned my family's gratitude when he rushed to our house to help my younger sister after she broke her leg. Our piano teacher Juliette, who graduated from the Istanbul conservatory, was also Armenian. We were not exposed to the type of hatred which this resolution arouses.

As you know, the Turkish public values its partnership with the United States and its people, and cannot understand why the U.S. Congress is considering legislating history which condemns their ancestors with the most heinous of crimes. The millions of Turks and other Muslims who were also killed during this period -- more than 80 years ago -- are ignored in H.Con.Res. 47. Turks see this resolution as legitimizing Armenian terrorism and vindicating ethnic hatred. Passage of H.Con.Res. 47 would be particularly painful for those who lost loved ones as a result of this senseless violence. The resolution represents ethnic politics at its worst, and is not worthy of the U.S. Congress. The U.S. Congress, which has always been a bastion of high human values, cannot and should not harvest the seeds of hatred. I strongly believe that this resolution counters the interests of Armenians and Americans, as well as Turks.

Sincerely,



Sina Baydur

INCIDENTS OF ARMENIAN TERRORISM ON U.S. SOIL

- January 27, 1973** **Santa Barbara, California.** A 78-year old Armenian immigrant, Gourgen Yanikian, assassinated Mehmet Baydar (Turkish Consul-General in Los Angeles) and Bahadir Demir (the Turkish Consul in Los Angeles) at the Biltmore Hotel.
- October 26, 1973** **New York City, New York.** The Turkish Information Office received a mail bomb addressed to the Consul General. The bomb was diffused by police. The group claiming responsibility called itself the "Yanikian Commandos", after the assassin responsible for the killings in Santa Barbara.
- October 4, 1977** **Los Angeles, California.** A bomb exploded in front of the home of Stanford Shaw, a professor of Turkish history at U.C.L.A., causing extensive damage. UPI received an anonymous call that the Armenian Group of 28 was responsible.
- August 11, 1980** **New York City, New York.** Two paint bombs were thrown at the front of the "Turkish House" (the building housing the Turkish United Nations Delegation and the New York Turkish Consulate). A letter attached to one of the bombs stated that the attack was to "remind the imperialist Turkish government of the crimes they have committed against the Armenian people." It was signed: "An Armenian Group".
- October 6, 1980** **Los Angeles, California.** The home of Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles, Mr. Kemal Arikan, was damaged when two molotov cocktails were thrown at it. An anonymous caller stated that the attack had been made in the name of Armenians.
- October 12, 1980** **New York City, New York.** A bomb planted under a stolen parked car exploded in front of the "Turkish House". Four American citizens were injured, and nearby offices were extensively damaged. The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) terrorist group claimed responsibility for the attack.
- October 12, 1980** **Los Angeles, California.** A travel agency in Hollywood, owned by a Turkish-American, was destroyed by a bomb blast. JCAG claimed responsibility.

- February 3, 1981** **Los Angeles, California.** A bomb left on the doorstep of the Swiss Consulate was diffused by the local bomb squad. An anonymous caller claimed the attack was perpetrated by the "October 3 Organization", and that such attacks would continue until "our friend" (Suzy Mahseredjian) was released.
- June 3, 1981** **Los Angeles, California.** Bombs planted by Armenian terrorists at the Anaheim Convention Center forced the cancellation of a performance by a Turkish Folk Dance Group. Threats of similar attacks in northern California forced further cancellations.
- June 26, 1981** **Los Angeles, California.** A small bomb exploded in front of the Swiss Banking Corporation offices. ASALA's (The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) "Ninth of June Organization" claimed responsibility.
- August 20, 1981** **Los Angeles, California.** An explosive device was detonated outside the offices of Swiss Precision Instruments Inc. The "Ninth of June Organization" claimed responsibility.
- November 20, 1981** **Los Angeles, California.** The Turkish Consulate in Beverly Hills was bombed, causing extensive damage. JCAG claimed responsibility.
- January 28, 1982** **Los Angeles, California.** The Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles, Kemal Arikan, was assassinated while driving to work. One of the assassins, Hampig Sassounian, a 19-year old Lebanese immigrant, was arrested, tried, and convicted. His accomplice escaped to Lebanon. JCAG claimed responsibility.
- March 22, 1982** **Cambridge, Massachusetts.** The Honorary Turkish Consul in Boston, Orhan Gunduz, was severely injured when a gift and import shop he owned was bombed. JCAG claimed responsibility.
- May 4, 1982** **Cambridge, Massachusetts.** The Honorary Turkish Consul in Boston, Orhan Gunduz, was assassinated while driving his car by a lone Armenian terrorist. President Reagan ordered an all-out manhunt for the assassin, but no one was apprehended.
- May 18, 1982** **Tampa, Florida.** The Honorary Turkish Consul in Tampa, Nash Karahan, fended off two Armenian terrorists who were trying to enter the consulate offices by drawing a gun.

- May 26, 1982** **Los Angeles, California.** A bomb damaged the office of the Swiss Banking Corporation. Four Armenians who have been linked to ASALA were suspected of perpetrating the attack.
- May 30, 1982** **Los Angeles, California.** Three Armenian-American members of ASALA placed an explosive in front of the Air Canada Cargo Building at Los Angeles International Airport. The bomb was defused. The perpetrators were arrested and charged.
- October 26, 1982** **Los Angeles, California.** Five Armenians were charged with conspiring to bomb the offices of the Honorary Turkish Consul (Kanat Arbay) in Philadelphia. The perpetrators were linked to JCAG.
- January 21, 1983** **Anaheim, California.** Nine pipe bombs were confiscated from an Armenian bakery after the detonator from one of them detonated, causing a fire.
- March 29, 1984** **Los Angeles, California.** The Turkish Consulate received a written threat to kill a Turkish athlete should he attempt to compete in the upcoming L.A. Olympics. The threat was signed by ASALA.
- June 25, 1984** **Los Angeles, California.** A news agency office in Paris received a letter from ASALA threatening to attack all governments, organizations, and companies who in any way assisted Turkey's Olympic team at the L.A. Olympics.

In addition to these attacks and threats in the United States, over 180 similar incidents were perpetrated by Armenian terrorist groups worldwide between 1973 and 1987, in countries including Turkey, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Denmark, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Austria, Netherlands, Germany, and Australia.

Congresswoman Anna G. Eshoo
Statement Before the House International Relations Committee
May 15, 1996
The Armenian Genocide

I'd like to thank Chairman Gilman, Ranking Member Hamilton and other Members of the House International Relations Committee for helping to raise awareness of the Armenian Genocide and the millions of Armenians who were systematically exterminated by Ottoman troops. I'd like to take this opportunity to reconfirm my support for H.Con.Res. 47, which honors the memory of the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

The slaughter began on April 24, 1915, when hundreds of Armenian leaders were arrested and executed in Istanbul and other areas. Ottoman troops executed 1.5 million Armenians including innocent women and children. Tragically, the crying voices of these innocent victims fell upon deaf ears because the international community refused to confront the perpetrators of these atrocities.

As the only Member of Congress of Armenian descent, I know full well how the Ottoman Empire decimated people and wrote one of the darkest chapters in human history. I'm committed to ensure that their suffering is neither diminished nor denied by the perpetrators of this disgraceful policy. An open and honest acknowledgement of the genocide would help to decrease regional tensions and open the door to improved relations between Armenia and Turkey.

By recalling the atrocities of the Armenian Genocide we remind the world that a great tragedy was inflicted upon Armenians, that their murder was a catastrophe for the entire family of nations, and that unchecked aggression leads to atrocity. By mourning the losses of the past, we renew our determination to forge a future in which people can live in peace, prosperity, and freedom.

Despite a history of suffering at the hands of others, Armenians have remained a strong people, committed to families and united by an enduring faith. Armenians have risen from the ashes of the Armenia Genocide to form a new country from the remains of the Soviet Union...a new country which flourishes in the face of severe winters, ongoing military conflict in Nagorno-Karabagh, and the absence of strong international assistance. Today's Armenia is a living tribute to the indelible courage and perseverance and the greatest assurance that what took place 80 years ago will not be repeated.

I believe we must do all we can to prevent this tragic history from repeating itself and help advance a proactive foreign policy to bring lasting peace to the region. I urge you to support H.Con.Res. 47.

Thank you.

Hearings on the History of the Armenian Genocide
Statement by Rep. Howard L. Berman
May 15, 1996

- Mr. Chairman, let me join my colleagues in congratulating you for deciding to hold this hearing. Americans need to know more about the genocidal campaign perpetrated against the Armenian people at the end of the last century and during the first years of our own.
- As I noted on the House floor a few weeks ago, the genocide committed against the Armenian people ranks among the worst such crimes in human history. That it took place during the supposedly civilized "modern" era makes the crime all the more abysmal -- and the need to commemorate it that much more important.
- The campaign took place because the rulers of Armenia wanted to teach a brutal lesson to those who were demanding their freedom. This is a fact. It is not a myth.
- Today's session is an important step toward ensuring that all Americans gain a greater understanding of what happened to a small nation in the not so distant past. After the hearing is over, I hope no one will doubt why some use the word genocide in describing the campaign against the Armenians.
- Our hearing today and H.Con. Res. 47 are not an attack on the people of Turkey. They are not on trial for a terrible crime committed years ago. Those of us who support H.Con. Res. 47 are only trying to acknowledge the unrecognized sufferings of Armenia's heroic people.
- Once this session is over, the burden of proof will be on those who do not believe that genocide took place. They will have to show through an equally careful marshalling of evidence that the Ottoman authorities of the day did not orchestrate systematic attacks against an entire people.
- Because of a mark up session in another committee on which I serve, I will not be able to hear all the testimony. I regret that but I do look forward to learning more about this important subject after the record is printed. I thank our witnesses for coming and for undertaking such a painstaking examination of the evidence.

Levon Marashlian, Ph.D.

Professor of History
Glendale Community College, California

Testimony on the Armenian Genocide

May 15, 1996

House Committee on International Relations

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Testimony on the Armenian Genocide

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to speak before you on an issue which is intimately tied to American history and directly related to the welfare of Turkey and to the success of United States policy in a region of the world which is critically important economically and strategically.

In 1919, a political body called The National Congress of Turkey confirmed the overwhelming American evidence that the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were victims of a mass destruction during World War I. The National Congress of Turkey declared that the "guilt" of the Turkish officials who "conceived and deliberately carried out this infernal policy of extermination and robbery is patent," those officials "rank among the greatest criminals of humanity." ¹

The official Turkish gazette *Takvimi Vekayi* published the verdict of the post-war Ottoman trials of those officials. The Turkish court ruled that the intention of the Ottoman leaders was "the organization and execution" of the "crime of massacre." ²

German Ambassador Johann Bernstorff, whose country was allied to Turkey, wrote about "Armenia where the Turks have been systematically trying to exterminate the Christian population." Raphael Lemkin, who coined the word genocide in 1944, specifically cited the "genocide of the Armenians." ³

Those who today deny the Armenian Genocide are resorting to academically unsound revisionism, in order to prevent the moral act of remembering this crime against humanity. In the process, the deniers are doing a disservice to the majority of today's Turkish people. By keeping the wounds open with their stonewalling tactics, by making it necessary to have hearings like this, they force the Turkish people to continue wearing like an albatross the negative image earned by a circle of officials who ruled eight decades ago.

A consideration of House Con. Res. 47, which remembers "the genocide perpetrated by the governments of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923," would provide a good opportunity to draw a distinction between the guilty and the innocent Turks, to remember also the Turks of decency who opposed their government's policy of inhumanity.

At a time today when so many people in our own society too often shirk their individual responsibility to make personal choices based on principles and values, it is a good lesson for us to recall the years when American witnesses and Turkish civilians made the personal choice to resist a wrong and save human lives, when a few Turkish officials even chose to object, even though doing so could have endangered their own lives.

One was an Ottoman Senator, Ahmed Riza. In December 1915 he courageously condemned the policy to destroy and deport Turkey's two million Armenian citizens and expropriate their assets, which authorities were carrying out under the cover of a legislative fig leaf euphemistically called the Abandoned Properties Law.

"It is unlawful to designate" Armenian properties as abandoned, declared Senator Riza, because they did not leave their properties voluntarily. They were "forcibly" removed from their homes and exiled. "Now the government is selling" their possessions. "Nobody can sell my property if I am unwilling to sell it. This is atrocious. Grab my arm, eject me from my village, then sell my goods and properties? Such a thing can never be permissible. Neither the conscience of the Ottomans nor the law can allow it." ⁴

Mr. Chairman, during a debate on the Senate floor in February 1990, your colleague Senator Robert Dole championed another resolution commemorating the Armenian Genocide (SJR 212), and declared, "it's finally time for us to do what is right. . . . We pride ourselves in America" for "doing what's right, not what's expedient." ⁵

In this case, doing what is right does not exact a big price. The frequently heard argument that a commemorative resolution will harm American-Turkish relations is not credible. It ignores the fact that the relationship is much more in Turkey's favor than America's. Not doing what is right, on the other hand, is tantamount to rejecting mountains of documents in our National Archives,

testimonies that refute the denial arguments generated in Ankara and, most disturbingly, promoted in prestigious academic circles here in America.

This denial recently spurred over 100 prominent scholars and intellectuals, including Raul Hilberg, John Updike, Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut, and Arthur Miller, to sign a petition denouncing the "intellectually and morally corrupt . . . manipulation of American institutions" and the "fraudulent scholarship supported by the Turkish government and carried out in American universities." ⁶

A typical example of the powerful evidence in the US Archives is a cable to the State Department from Ambassador Henry Morgenthau: "Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests," and "terrible tortures," implement "wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other," frequently accompanied by "rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre . . ." ⁷

And the persecutions continued even after World War I ended in 1918. "It was like an endless chain," reported Edith Woods, an American nurse, in 1922. "The children would often be dead before I had taken their names. Forty to fifty of the older women died each day. . . . Their mouths were masses of sores, and their teeth were dropping out. And their feet, those poor, bleeding feet. . . . Deportation is sure death -- and a far more horrible death than massacre. Unless one sees these things it is difficult to believe that such monstrous cruelty and barbarity exist in the world." ⁸

Ms. Woods' testimony ripped to shreds the web of denial being woven by Turkish officials in the early 1920s. She also exposed the new atmosphere of insensitivity at the American Embassy in Istanbul which contradicted the overwhelming sentiment of American public opinion and the spirit of Congressional resolutions in favor of Armenians that were passed during those days. This American woman made the personal choice to speak up against the response at her own Embassy, a policy imposed by acting ambassador Admiral Mark Bristol, who, driven obsessively by commercial interests, was colluding in a cover-up crafted by Turkish authorities.

Allen Dulles, the State Department's Near East Division chief (and later CIA Director), found it hard to keep things under wraps as Bristol requested. "Confidentially the State Department is in a bind," Dulles cautioned in April 1922.

Our task would be simple if the reports of the atrocities could be declared untrue or even exaggerated but the evidence, alas, is irrefutable and the Secretary of State wants to avoid giving the impression that while the United States is willing to intervene actively to protect its commercial interests, it is not willing to move on behalf of the Christian minorities. ⁹

And the evidence mounted. In May 1922, four American relief workers, Major Forrest D. Yowell of Washington DC, Dr. Mark Ward of New York, Dr. Ruth Parmalee of Boston, and Isabel Harely of Rhode Island, were all expelled from their posts in Turkey because they too chose to do what is right, they protested the ongoing persecutions. Dr. Yowell said Armenians in his district were "in a state of virtual slavery," with "no rights in the courts." ¹⁰

Dr. Ward quoted Turkish officials. One Turk declared: "We have been too easy in the past. We shall do a thorough job this time." Another remarked: "Why do you Americans waste your time and money on these filthy Greeks and Armenians? We always thought that Americans knew how to get their money's worth. Any Greeks and Armenians who don't die here are sure to die when we send them on to Bitlis, as we always choose the worst weather in order to get rid of them quicker." ¹¹

Not all Turks were so cruel. A British diplomat reported that another American in Turkey, Herbert Gibbons, knew of prominent Turks who protested the "unparalleled inhumanity;" but they were "beaten and sent away" for intervening. The Mayor of the Black Sea city of Trabzon had no sympathy with the government's policy and did what little he could. The Governor also opposed the "massacres and persecutions," but was powerless to stop it. His predecessor tried and was removed. ¹²

Gibbons thought the government's policy was "a calumny upon the good Turks, of whom there are many." Massacres never broke out spontaneously, since "Christians and Moslems ordinarily get along very well." The massacres were ordered, as part of a plan "to make Turkey truly Turkish."

Yet there are "humane and kind hearted Turks," Gibbons stressed, and there are "Mohammedans who fear God and who are shocked by the impious horrors of the extermination policy." ¹³

Revisionists today say in effect that Americans like Forrest Yowell, Mark Ward, Ruth Parmalee, Isabel Harely, Edith Woods, Herbert Gibbons, and Ambassador Henry Morgenthau were either liars or misguided.

Remembering the atrocities committed against the Armenians would show respect for those Americans who spoke up, and respect as well for Turks like Senator Riza who also chose to oppose the injustice. A recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the US Congress would be a step toward helping erase this important ally's image problem, which Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet described in 1951 as "this black stain on the forehead of the people."¹⁴

Encouraging Turkey to face the facts of its history would help lift the cloud of controversy which has haunted it for decades. It would help eliminate the deep roots of Armenian-Turkish enmity, paving the way to normalized relations, and it would give Armenia the sense of security many Armenians feel is necessary if they are to respond to Russia's regional policies with more independence and balance. The prospects for American commerce and regional stability would be strengthened by a recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

Acknowledging the Armenian Genocide also would show that Congress cannot condone the brazen contradiction of its own Archives and the dangerous corruption of America's academic institutions. It would send a strong signal to all deniers of genocide, especially to deniers of the Holocaust. Mr. Chairman, taking a stand against the denial of the Armenian Genocide would be entirely consistent with the successful resolution "Deploring Holocaust Deniers" which you so wisely introduced last December, in which you too did what is right, by calling denial efforts "malicious."¹⁵ Such language is applicable to the denial of the Armenian Genocide as well.

Mr. Chairman, when weighing the merits of the arguments on both sides of this issue, it would be useful to keep in mind a letter sent to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes in 1924 by Admiral Bristol, a man who was called "very pro-Turk" by Joseph Clark Grew, Washington's first Ambassador to Ankara. Even the pro-Turk Admiral acknowledged "the cruelties practiced upon the Armenians by Turks acting under official orders, and in pursuance of a deliberate official policy." For that policy, wrote Admiral Bristol, "there can be no adequate excuse."¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

¹ The Turco-Armenian Question: The Turkish Point of View (Constantinople: National Congress of Turkey, 1919), p. 83.

² Takvimi Vekayi, #360-I, cited in Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law," Yale Journal of International Law, p. 307.

³ Memoirs of Count Bernstorff, trans. from the German by Eric Sutton (New York, 1936), in Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Naum-Andonian Documents on the World War I Destruction of Ottoman Armenians: The Anatomy of a Genocide," International Journal of Middle East Studies 18 (August 1986): 342-343 and note 113; Rappel Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial*, unpublished autobiography, p. 32, cited in Armenian Assembly of America Fact Sheet #8, Washington DC, 1985.

⁴ Senator Ahmed Rıza in the Ottoman Senate, 13 December 1915. See Y. Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi XII (1957), p. 48, cited in Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law," Yale Journal of International Law, p. 269.

⁵ C-SPAN broadcast and Congressional Record, February 20-27, 1990.

⁶ Chronicle of Higher Education, 2 February 1996.

⁷ US State Department, Record Group 59, 867.4016/74, Ambassador Morgenthau to Secretary of State, 10 July 1915.

⁸ Daily Telegraph, (date unclear) clipping found in *Ibid.*, 7878-I:584/19/44, Rumbold to FO, 30 May 1922. Edith Woods was a Near East Relief nurse stationed at Kharput until November 1921 and in Malatya until spring 1922.

⁹ Library of Congress, Bristol Papers, Dulles to Bristol, 21 April 1922, quoted in Marjorie Housepian, "What Genocide?, What Holocaust? News from Turkey, 1915-1923," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., The Armenian Genocide in Perspective (New Brunswick, NJ, 1986), p. 106.

¹⁰ Times, "Tinks' Insane Savagery," 5 May 1922, and basically the same article in The New York Times, 6 May 1922 (found in FO 371/7877-I:4879, I:5158/19/44). For similar information from another American eyewitness, see Daily Telegraph "American's Appeal - A Tragic Record," 16 May 1922. (found in FO 371/7877-F:4980/19/44.) Major Yowell was the director of the Kharput unit of N E R., Dr. Ward was the chief surgeon, Dr. Parmalee was the medical director, and Ms. Harely was the orphanage director.

¹¹ Britain, FO 371/7878 I:5674/19/44, interview with Dr. Ward, in a secret WO military intelligence report issued 22 May 1922.

¹² Britain, FO 371/7878-I:5466/19/44, Rumbold to FO, 27 May 1922.

¹³ Britain, FO 371/7878-I:5692/19/44, Herbert Gibbons (Trebizond) to Christian Science Monitor, 21 May 1922.

¹⁴ Ali Yunus, trans., Poems by Nazim Hikmet (New York: Masses and Mainstream, Inc. 1954), p. 61.

¹⁵ House Resolution 316, introduced by Rep. Benjamin Gilman on 20 December 1995.

¹⁶ US State Department, RG 59, 711.672/250, Bristol to State, 3 January 1924.

Statement of Rouben Adalian, Ph.D.
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House International Relations Committee
May 15, 1996

Mr. Chairman, let me begin by thanking you and the members of the House Committee on International Relations for inviting me to testify before this committee. I welcome the opportunity to present a summary of the results of my years of research on the Armenian Genocide in the United States National Archives and the Library of Congress.

My name is Rouben Adalian. I am a historian by profession. I teach as an adjunct professor at George Washington and Georgetown Universities. I am a member of the Council of the Institute for the Holocaust and Genocide Studies based in Jerusalem, an International Associate of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies at Macquarie University in Australia, and a member of the Board of the Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian Research and Documentation in Cambridge, Massachusetts. I am employed full-time as the Director of Research at the Armenian Assembly of America.

I am pleased to report to this committee that the historical record of the United States on the subject of the Armenian Genocide is clear, thoroughly documented by the tens of thousands of pages of official reports and communications currently deposited at the United States National Archives and Records Administration and the Library of Congress, and that an examination of that record can only confirm beyond the shadow of a doubt what transpired in the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918. Moreover those documents attest clearly and beyond any question that the policies and actions of the United States with regard to the fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were motivated by the understanding that this population faced annihilation and that our government was prepared to take whatever measures were within its powers at the time to try to prevent the extermination of the Armenians and to rescue the survivors.

Allow me to submit for the consideration of this committee my conclusions upon the completion of the project which I undertook in order to collect all of the documents in the holdings of our government that attest to the history of the Armenian Genocide and to the record of the United States about the Armenian Genocide. This evidence should serve to remind this Committee and this Congress about a chapter of American history of which every American can be proud. It is regrettable that much of it has been forgotten, and it is all the more unfortunate that because of this forgetting there are some in this country who actually question the record of our government on the subject of the Armenian Genocide. I hope that this massive documentation project, which identified 37,000 pages of material, or approximately 4000 documents of various lengths, and which were all published on microfiche, will help to rectify this problem and overcome the doubt that the passage of time has planted in the minds of some.

If there is just one reason why Congress should re-affirm the American record on the Armenian Genocide, it is because of the importance of our national memory for the formulation of current U.S. policy. If the United States is to play a credible role in responding to crises around the world when gross violations of human rights occur, it cannot afford to appear in doubt about past crimes against humanity. The need for U.S. leadership in preventing impending genocides and in assisting in the prosecution of persons accused of having engaged in war crimes has been underscored this year once again. Whether the intervention is required in Bosnia, Rwanda, or

Burundi, the world turns to the United States for direction. It does so not just because the United States has the might and the capacity to change the course of events for the better. It does so because the United States has a unique record of humanitarian intervention which can be traced back to the efforts made on behalf of the Armenians in the early part of the twentieth century. To re-affirm that record is to re-commit our country to a sense of responsibility that is the hallmark of world leadership.

What follows is in part from the text of my introduction to the *Guide to The Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives, 1915-1918* (Alexandria, Virginia: Chadwyck-Healey, 1994) presented here in a condensed form for the benefit of the Committee.

The National Archives of the United States hold the most comprehensive documentation in the world on the Armenian Genocide. Up to 1914, Great Britain, France, and Russia had been the states most involved with the question of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire. After war broke out between the Ottomans and the Allies in November 1914, the United States, which remained neutral until 1917, was left as the sole major Western state with official representation in the Ottoman capital of Constantinople. In 1915, the Ottoman government, under the control of the Young Turk Committee, began implementing a policy to annihilate the Armenians of the empire through deportations and massacres. The United States Embassy in Constantinople immediately became the focal point for those reporting on the escalating violence directed against the Armenian population of the Ottoman state.

Apart from the Embassy in the capital, the United States maintained consular posts in a number of cities in Turkey, including Smyrna (present-day Izmir), Trebizond, Mersin, Harput (or Kharpert), Aleppo, Beirut, and Jerusalem. The presence of American consuls at two of these sites proved crucial for closely monitoring developments in the spring and summer of 1915 when the Ottoman government proceeded to expel the Armenians from their homes and to deport them toward the Syrian desert. Masses of Armenians were moved through the Harput region on the Euphrates as the point of exit for the population of Armenia proper and their exodus to the south. But as was the case at Harput, where the vast majority of the deportees were destroyed within the confines of the province itself, large-scale massacres at isolated spots en route to the desert often decimated the victim population considerably. Many convoys of deportees from Armenia and Anatolia were sent on to Aleppo. From there and other collection centers further east, they were marched into the desert and left to die of thirst and exposure. Others were sent to specific killing sites, such as Ras-ul-Ain and Deir-el-Zor. On a regular basis, the American consuls at Harput and Aleppo kept the United States Embassy in Constantinople informed of the arrival of the exhausted refugees from the interior and the departure of the condemned toward the desert.

The interest of Americans in the condition of the Armenian people in Turkey grew largely out of a near century-long association between American missionaries and Armenians of the Middle East. The missionaries had established a vast network of institutions (schools, hospitals, churches) throughout the Ottoman Empire which serviced mainly the Armenian population. American missions were located in some of the major cities of Anatolia--Sivas, Kayseri, Marash, Hadjin, Adana, Aintab, Urfa--and further east in historic Armenia--Harput, Bitlis, Erzerum, and

Van. Thousands of Armenian survivors of earlier massacres had become wards of the American mission orphanages. The missionaries witnessed the daily tribulations of Armenians living under Turkish rule and, when the deportations began, they became an additional source of direct information on the fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

Independent of the consuls and the missionaries, the United States Embassy also received reports from citizens of other neutral countries, such as Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland and heard directly from Armenians who had survived their own particular ordeals. Alarmed at the increasing frequency of the reports of mistreatment, deportation and massacres, Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey, reached the conclusion that a systematic effort was under way to liquidate the Armenian population. In a series of reports, Ambassador Morgenthau relayed his findings to the Secretary of State in Washington. His cables included the consular reports substantiating the rumors in circulation that the Armenians in Turkey were in the throes of a state-organized campaign aimed at their wholesale annihilation under the guise of a resettlement policy. In addition, the Department of State received correspondence from diplomatic sources outside the Ottoman Empire who had obtained evidence further substantiating the charge that a policy of genocide was in progress in the Ottoman Empire.

Persuaded of the gravity of the danger faced by the Armenian population, the Department of State authorized Ambassador Morgenthau to submit formal protests to the appropriate Ottoman officials. It instructed him also to warn the representatives of Germany, Turkey's ally in World War I, that, under the circumstances, their government too would be held accountable for failing to intervene in order to stop the indiscriminate killings. At the same time, Congress gave its approval for setting up a private agency, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (better known as Near East Relief) to raise funds in the United States for aid to the Armenian deportees. The ambassadors, consuls, and missionaries, in addition to the relief workers who arrived mainly after the end of the war, played key roles in disbursing aid to the Armenians in spite of regular interference from Ottoman officials, and, for some, at risk to their own lives.

Formal relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire were severed in April 1917 after Congress declared war on Germany. However, the United States never declared war on Germany's ally, the Ottoman Empire, nor did it engage in hostilities against the Ottoman Empire. United States personnel returned to Constantinople upon the signing of the Mudros Armistice, which brought an end to the war in the Middle East in October 1918. After the war, Near East Relief was instrumental in providing shelter for thousands of orphans, rescuing hundreds of women from their abductors, and feeding and clothing tens of thousands of survivors. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, with its pronounced commitment to the principle of self-determination for the oppressed peoples of the Ottoman Empire, kept the United States all the more involved in Middle Eastern affairs after the end of the Great War. Hence, throughout most of the critical years from 1915, when the extermination of the Armenians began, to 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was established and the era of deportations and massacres ended, Americans were on site in the region. They reported in detail from direct observation and through eyewitness accounts the entire course of events that enveloped the Armenian people.

Because of the multiplicity of places from which these reports originated, and their wide geographic distribution, a fairly complete picture of the Armenian Genocide can be formed with the documentation in the United States Archives. The entire process by which the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was made the victim of a policy aiming to destroy all vestiges of its existence in Armenia and Anatolia can be traced through these documents. They describe the forcible evacuation of Armenians from numerous towns and cities and the physical abuse of the deportees. They point out the sites predetermined by the authorities in charge as places of execution. They list by town and village the number of people deported and further report on the number of those who survived, revealing that the deportations were intended to be nothing more than death marches. They verify the appalling conditions of induced famine and recount innumerable instances of wanton killing and other forms of mass murder, including mass drownings, burning alive and casting off people from precipices. In all, the documents record the demise of a people singled out as the object of lethal violence and hatred and an implacable policy of extermination.

These documents also tell of valiant diplomats who did everything within their personal and professional means to try to save the victims and to bring relief to the survivors. They are also a testament to the hundreds of dedicated American relief workers and volunteers who went to the Middle East and, under conditions of extreme adversity, arranged for the delivery and distribution of relief aid to the survivors. They also tell the story of countless Americans at home who collected and donated millions of dollars to feed the "starving Armenians." In short, these documents form a unprecedented chapter on American humanitarianism when an entire nation came to the assistance of a beleaguered and imperiled people at the moment of its greatest agony and rescued them from near extinction.

The records preserve the full journey traveled by each of the documents transmitted from site up through the entire chain of command which made up the small coterie of men who were the policy and decision makers on the question of the Ottoman Empire and concomitant matters in foreign affairs in general, and the Armenians in particular. At the local level, Consul Leslie Davis in Harput and most exceptionally Consul Jesse Jackson in Aleppo proved to be men of extraordinary fortitude and industry. Their communiques appear across so many files that developing a near complete depiction of their uncommon dedication to duty and humanity proved a challenge in and of itself. They were only two among other consuls equally steadfast in their duties, of whom G. Bie Ravndal in Constantinople and H. Stanley Hollis in Jerusalem might be mentioned. The names of the ambassadors are better known, and Abram Elkus, who succeeded Henry Morgenthau, appears to have altered none of the procedures introduced during Morgenthau's tenure in transmitting all the evidence that found its way to the United States Embassy in Constantinople. For Henry Morgenthau, saving the Armenian population became a cause which he championed in and out of office. His sense of alarm as he grew aware of the scale of the campaign to eradicate the Armenians was conveyed to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, and his successor, Robert Lansing, in no uncertain words. They resonate to this day as the most riveting pronouncements on the fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The unfolding tragedy made no less an impression on President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson's policies, during and after the war, were in part formed by his sympathies for populations

particularly victimized by German and Turkish militarism. Subsequent administrations, however, gradually altered policy; and that shift is dramatically recorded in the "War Diary" of Rear Admiral Mark Bristol, the United States High Commissioner appointed to Constantinople in 1919. The new set of considerations introduced in the formulation of United States policy can be observed also in the recommendations of Allen Dulles, the Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs at the Department of State in the post-war years.

Especially relevant are records pertaining to the Young Turk regime which governed the Ottoman Empire and devised and conducted its war policies, including the program of genocide against the Armenians. Identified and included in the collection are all documents produced for the purpose of describing the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the Young Turk movement as a whole, the Ottoman cabinets and their CUP ministers, the Pan-Turanian ideology, the policies on ethnic constituencies, the attitude toward Armenian and other minority grievances, the mobilization for war, its immediate effects, the fears raised at the prospect of war, and the conduct of war as it affected the civilian population. Some documents portrayed individual leaders and explained their levels of responsibility in their posts, including their roles in conceiving and implementing policies affecting the Armenians. Other documents described the continued influence of the CUP in post-war Turkish politics and society, the prosecution of some of its members by various post-war tribunals, and its final reckoning after the Republic of Turkey was established by Mustafa Kemal. No less attention was paid to documents which highlighted the rise of the Turkish Nationalist movement and the emergence of its leaders, as these exposed the surviving portion of the Armenian population to further mass violence.

The genocide of the Armenians did not begin with the deportations and did not end with the massacres. Its origins can be understood only in the context of Armenian-Turkish relations where one party for long was a disenfranchised minority, all the more despised for its collective capacity to flourish under adverse conditions, emerging from centuries of oppression and reaching for greater freedom as it developed a clearer consciousness of its rights as a people. The other party was accustomed to the exclusive exercise of power unchecked by constitutional restraints. This complex set of relations, constantly tested and altered, heightened resentment in the one and suspicion in the other. Nor can the end of the process of decimating the Armenian population and excluding it from the territories reconstituted as the Republic of Turkey be found in any single event so much as in the series of developments which rendered the Armenians into a stateless people. Depriving them of restitution, repatriation, and any modicum of justice for the mistreatment, expropriation, and losses suffered from deportation and massacre was part of this process.

The documents collected for publication concentrate on the years 1915 through 1918 when the Young Turk government held uncontested power in the Ottoman Empire and implemented the policy of genocide against the Armenians. This time frame is important, for the evidence demonstrates that the policy was designed and implemented as an attempt at the total elimination of a people by a legitimate government. In my opinion, it is this factor, the role of the government in formulating a comprehensive policy, that distinguishes genocide from other forms of mass violence. The definition of a crime must begin with the intent of the perpetrator, while

not excusing a government in its dereliction of duty to prevent, and to protect its citizens from, conditions conducive to genocide. From 1918 to 1923 Armenians continued to face violence, particularly after 1920, when the Nationalist Turkish forces under Mustafa Kemal took actions which resulted in depopulating Turkey of its remaining Armenian inhabitants. In and of itself, by the most rigorous application of the above definition, the term genocide does not seem to apply in this later phase of the Armenian catastrophe. These later acts of violence and mass killings may be compared to those that occurred during the massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909, which strictly speaking, did not constitute genocide because, in the final analysis, the intent was not the destruction of the whole. The early massacres were attempts to keep the Armenians in their "place." The 1915-1918 genocide was an attempt to eliminate the Armenians as a people within the Ottoman Empire. The later massacres, in and of themselves, appear to have been designed to frighten the survivors into flight and to bury for all time any possibility that the Armenians might resettle in their former places of habitation.

The cataloguing of the Department of State files in the National Archives was particularly fortuitous because the records of the events precedent and consequent to the policies implemented against the Armenians could be studied in a continuum. The time span from the coup staged in 1913 by the Committee of Union and Progress, when the role of the extremist faction of the Young Turks became pronounced, to the resumption of formal relations between the United States and the Republic of Turkey in 1927 provided an appropriate framework for understanding what happened to the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. Therein are located also the war and genocide years, the period of the formation of the Turkish Republic with its disastrous effects on the remaining Armenians, and finally the settlement reached in Lausanne in 1923 between the Western Powers and Turkey which concluded, for all practical purposes, international discussion on the fate of the Armenians.

The entire history of the Armenian people is punctuated by episodes of violence inordinate in magnitude even within the context of medieval or modern warfare. Instances of mass dislocation occurred with such frequency as to have left the Armenian people in a state of perpetual anxiety about their continued existence. Yet this entire 3,000-year history holds no set of events comparable in scope to the campaign waged against them in 1915-1918. There was nothing localized about the Young Turk policy. The whole of a nation was made the object of decimation in a policy conceived with deliberation and implemented with planning and coordination by many governmental agencies of the Ottoman state. In the decision to target the whole of the surviving Armenian population in Turkey can also be found the continuity between Young Turk and Nationalist Turk policies. By the time the Kemalist forces were prevailing in Turkish politics, the Armenians were seriously reduced in numbers. It is difficult to explain how such a population could have been regarded as a threat such as to justify wholesale measures against them yet again. Furthermore, the waging of armed hostilities by the Kemalist forces against the Armenians, particularly in the instance of the Armenians returning to Cilicia at the end of the war, is the surest evidence of the continued reliance on military power to affect the status of an indigenous civilian population.

The circumstances of war are a key element in engendering the political environment conducive

to genocide. For if the above definition is to hold, apart from the demonstrated continuity of Young Turk and Nationalist Turk policies, the geographic reach of the policy of genocide should coincide with the military reach of the Ottoman and Kemalist forces. Herein the evidence is compelling in the manner the Ottomans took their war against Armenian civilians across the Russian border on their march from Kars, which fell in April of 1918, all the way to Baku in September of the same year. A similar campaign by the Nationalists against the Republic of Armenia in 1920, which led to the fall of the city of Kars to the Turks for a second time, yet again resulted in the loss of territory whose Armenian population was liquidated. Therefore this collection also traces the military campaigns of Turkish forces to the extent that warfare was waged with the object of certainly ejecting, if not physically eliminating, the Armenian population in all areas that would constitute the Republic of Turkey. The singular exception of the Armenian community of Constantinople, which faced no less persecution but was not displaced en masse, provides the starkest contrast.

The welfare and status of the displaced Armenians as they clung to life is addressed by the record of Near East Relief and the American effort to feed the Armenians. American philanthropic and humanitarian assistance made the difference between life and death for most of the Armenian survivors. There is little doubt that many more would have perished without the urgent help sent to the Armenians and the support provided by the United States government to the relief agencies operating in the region. That effort is virtually a story all to itself and the documentation on it is considerable. A good deal of it was included for the purpose of demonstrating with additional data the magnitude of what happened to the Armenians during World War I. For in the data about shipments of grain and numbers fed, in the count of orphans and in the description of illnesses and epidemics ravaging the population can be found but more grim evidence of the desolation and ruin visited upon the Armenians. This part of the story covers, of course, a different terrain, that which might be called the geography of refuge and dispersion.

The fact that United States diplomatic personnel were reporting on the status of other minorities in the Ottoman Empire in those same years means that comparative documentation survives from that era. Greeks, Jews, Arabs, Lebanese Maronites, and Kurds also came under pressure from the Turkish government. Select documents describing the treatment of these minorities were included, notably when the author reflected on the shared characteristics of government policies vis-a-vis each of the minorities and the Armenians, or when he addressed the conduct of other minorities which had become the object of specific Turkish government policies in those areas of former Armenian concentration. The variances in the outcome are telling and serve to underscore once again the nature of the Armenian Genocide.

In the larger sum of the United States archival documentation on the Ottoman Empire during the early war years, the American response to the news about the first threatened minority that came to the attention of the Embassy in Constantinople demonstrates the mechanisms and methods that evolved to verify information and to deliver humanitarian assistance. Before the Armenian Genocide troubled him, Ambassador Morgenthau had his trial run at coping with a crisis in responding to the problems faced by the Jewish communities of Palestine as the Young Turk

government proceeded with arbitrary measures there. Headed by such distinguished figures as the later Supreme Court Justices Louis Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter, committees set up in the United States to raise funds and deliver assistance to those communities first engaged the Ambassador in relief work. The American Committee on Armenian and Syrian Relief also tapped into the sympathies of the American populace. By the time the larger relief efforts on behalf of the Armenians and others came into operation, the staff at the United States Embassy in Constantinople was equipped to handle new assignments. From the standpoint of the actual records preserved, nothing is so impressive as the unyielding professionalism of the people manning the United States diplomatic posts who, having doubled their efforts, redoubled them yet again to keep up with the workload.

The question of the accuracy and objectivity of the information contained in the documents in the U.S. National Archives must be addressed. The guarantee that this primary material is of the highest order in historical value has always rested in the fact that it was, in the main, authored by official representatives of the United States government, that most were produced in the course of fulfilling regular duties, and that in their nature they are consistent with the correspondence regarded ordinary under normal circumstances. What makes these reports, cables, communiques, and even simple receipts exceptional is the fact they were handled as routine business in uncommon circumstances. Only in retrospect does the full evidence begin to shed light on the magnitude of the Armenian catastrophe. At the time these reports and correspondence were written, little thought was being given to creating a record of the Armenian Genocide as the matter was a reality unfolding day by day and lasted over the course of several years. Furthermore, the great quantity of material generated has to do with another fact relevant to communications of diplomatic provenance. The United States foreign service personnel were all trained observers of current events charged with keeping their government informed of developments in their respective spheres of responsibility. Their main charge was always defined as the interests of the United States and of its nationals abroad.

Neither United States neutrality in the first three years of the war nor United States support of the Entente explain the level of American concern with the fate of the Armenians. The ferocity of the campaign against the Armenians was soon matched by the resolve of some United States officials not just to be witness but also to intervene in order to alleviate the consequences of the deportations and massacres. How those mechanisms came into place will have to be reconstructed by others. One example will have to stand for all those who participated with their conscience as well as with their actions. If a man of principle can be found in these dismal records of death and destruction, it must be Jesse Jackson, American Consul at Aleppo. While he could do nothing to stop deportations and prevent massacres, he tried to save lives, one person at a time. He was not alone in this struggle, but his signature appears at the bottom of more pieces of correspondence than any other. Were it not for him the strength of the evidence might have been weaker, for that strength lies not so much in the generalizations reported by Ambassador Morgenthau, who resided in Constantinople, as in the empirical facts daily reported over the course of the genocide years by Consul Jesse Jackson. He deserves a special place in the annals of American diplomatic history and recognition as one whose sense of responsibility made a world of difference for those facing certain death.

Some of the more compelling documents in this collection have been published earlier. Those bearing the signature of Ambassador Morgenthau have constituted part of the publicly known record on the Armenian Genocide since the documents became available in the National Archives. Whereas this handful may contain great substance, it is the lesser and more mundane pieces of evidence which provide the confirmatory evidence. Strangely, a view into the terrible human cost of genocide is best preserved in the single pieces of mail which went back and forth between the Ottoman Empire and the United States through the services of the Department of State. By agreeing to substitute for a post office during time of war, the Department in Washington became the nexus of communication between Armenians in Turkey seeking help from relatives in the United States and those in the United States searching for their loved ones through the good offices of the Embassy. In the pleas sent and received, in the meager funds relayed by Armenians in the United States, most of whom were recent immigrants themselves, and in the hopelessness of some of the correspondence and the applications filed for redress after the war, one can observe the growing sense of loss shaping the ethos of the Armenian-American community for whom Armenia became a place which existed only in memory; a memory which became all the more central to their sense of identity.

While the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide is the most expansive in the detail of its coverage of the events of 1915 to 1918, the official records of many other countries corroborate the evidence gathered by U.S. diplomatic representatives assigned to the Ottoman Empire. Researchers have now established that all the major European states, whether friends or foes of the Ottoman Empire during W.W.I, hold substantial archival collections of documents from that era written and transmitted through official channels which verify over and over the full dimensions of the policy of the Young Turk government to deport the Armenians without distinction for age and gender, to eradicate the indigenous population of historic Armenia, and to induce conditions resulting in the death of this population through massacre, starvation, exposure and exhaustion. These countries include Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

Before all this research was completed, if there happened to be scholars who doubted the record on the Armenian Genocide, today there no longer exists any reason for any of them to question the authenticity of this thoroughly documented historical event. No objective scholar can persist in expressing doubt. Those who deny the Armenian Genocide are, therefore, engaged in a deliberate effort to distort the truth. For example, the one-time group of sixty-nine scholars who questioned the historicity of the Armenian Genocide have been exposed by research into their connections with funding institutions associated with the Republic of Turkey and by research into their motivations for subscribing to theories of denial. (See the attached analysis by Dr. Israel Charny and Daphna Fromer.)

It should be plain to all that those who deny the Armenian Genocide are also denying the American record on the Armenian Genocide, and that in so doing they are distorting a valuable chapter from American history, a chapter on humanitarianism that reflects the highest standards of American foreign policy and of international responsibility. No one in the United States needs to demonstrate any patience or any tolerance for those who so blatantly and willfully distort the

American record. There is no reason on earth why, at the very least, they should not admit that the American record speaks for itself and is a true reflection of the events which transpired at the beginning of this century. Their views defy logic, ignore the standards of professional scholarship, and abuse and demean the function of education in our country. Moreover they diminish our own capacity as Americans to understand and appreciate, and therein to learn, be proud of, and improve upon the actions and policies of our government.

Educators across the United States today teach about the Armenian Genocide. For them the U.S. record is the source of the lessons they draw about the necessity of teaching about human rights. Innovative educational programs such as those developed by the Facing History and Ourselves Foundation of Brookline, Massachusetts, an institution endorsed and supported by the U.S. Department of Education, for many years has been sharing the instructive lessons of the Armenian Genocide as an antecedent to the Holocaust, a precursor event whose importance was ignored in its immediate aftermath. One hardly need explain what might have been avoided had the international community reacted differently to the Armenian Genocide. The Facing History and Ourselves Foundation is joined by state Departments of Education on both coasts which have designed their own human rights programs which incorporate the Armenian Genocide. The Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide, adopted by the California State Board of Education in 1988, is an exemplary instructional program which gives close attention to the lessons of the Armenian Genocide. New Jersey, New York, Connecticut and school districts in other states now mandate the teaching of human rights based on the historical examples of the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust and other instances of genocide. In 1991 the National Council for the Social Studies, one of the largest educational organizations in the United States, prepared a special issue of its official journal called *Social Education* which provided educators with multiple strategies for teaching about the subject. Many of the contributors to this publication relied upon the lessons of the Armenian Genocide. Scholarly journals too many to name have published articles on the Armenian Genocide based on research in the U.S. National Archives. Historians and scholars at universities all across the United States have published works studying, analyzing, and explaining the Armenian Genocide. These works are readily available and form the basis of the knowledge upon which educators develop their classroom lessons.

The record should also reflect the fact that besides educators and the academic community in the United States, the courts too have joined in voicing their opinion on the matter of the American record on the Armenian Genocide. It is especially relevant here to note that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit has ruled on the matter of the Armenian Genocide. In a decision issued on January 29, 1993 in the case of *Van Z. Krikorian v. Department of State*, which through a Freedom of Information Act request sought to uncover the source of a 1982 Department of State decision to refer to the Armenian Genocide as an alleged event by claiming that "the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous," the court clearly stated: "This position contradicted longstanding United States policy..."

Despite the clear documentary record, despite the numerous affirmations of this record and of U.S. policy from 1915 to 1982 as reflected in multiple resolutions of the United States Congress,

the Executive Branch has continued to demonstrate a lack of leadership in re-affirming the United States record which the court stressed to have been longstanding. Too many administrations have permitted political expediency to overrule better judgement and have failed to honor the very record which the United States Court of Appeals maintained was U.S. policy. It should be realized that if there remains any question about the U.S. record, then the impartiality of the United States Court of Appeals is also in question.

Last year the United States Court of Appeals ruling was echoed in a ground-breaking case in a District Court in Paris, France, where an American historian was found liable for denying the Armenian Genocide. In its judgment rendered on June 21, 1995, the French court ruled:

"Whereas, while Bernard Lewis was entitled to dispute the value of such assertions, he was obliged to point out and analyze the circumstances capable of persuading readers of the lack of relevance thereof; whereas, in any event, he could not keep silent on consistent evaluative information used by international bodies, which reveals that, contrary to what the remarks criticized suggest, the existence of a plan to exterminate the Armenian people is not advanced solely by this people;

Whereas, even if it is not proved that he sought to fulfill a purpose foreign to his vocation as historian, and although it is not disputable that he may maintain an opinion on this question different from those of the petitioning associations, the fact remains that it was by concealing information contrary to this thesis that the defendant could assert that there was no "serious proof" of the Armenian Genocide; whereas, accordingly, he failed in his duties of objectivity and prudence by offering unqualified opinions on such a sensitive subject; and whereas his remarks, which could unfairly kindle the pain of the Armenian community, are offensive and justify compensation under the terms set forth in the ruling;

ON THESE GROUNDS

The Court:

Declares the action to be admissible;

Sentences Bernard Lewis to pay to each plaintiff, the FRENCH FORUM OF ARMENIAN ASSOCIATIONS, and to the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE AGAINST RACISM AND ANTISEMITISM the sum of one franc in damages;

Orders the publication of excerpts of this judgment in the next issue of the newspaper *Le Monde* to appear after the date on which this judgment shall be made final, the cost of this insertion to be borne by the defendant not to exceed twenty thousand (20,000) francs;

States that no grounds exist for provisional execution:

Sentences Bernard Lewis to pay, pursuant to Article 700 of the New Code of Civil Procedure,

the sum of ten thousand (10,000) francs to the French Forum of Armenian Associations, and the sum of four thousand (4,000) francs to the International League Against Racism and Antisemitism;

Sentences the defendant to costs."

The decision of the French court was not reached in a vacuum. The court cited as precedents the affirmations of the Armenian Genocide by three international bodies including the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities August 27, 1985 report, the August 29, 1984 verdict of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal convened in Paris, and the June 18, 1987 European Parliament's Resolution on a Political Solution to the Armenian Question.

A growing number of countries and multi-national organizations now recognize the Armenian Genocide as historical fact. In 1994 the Armenian Genocide was discussed in the Israeli Knesset. In 1995 the Russian parliament adopted a resolution on the Armenian Genocide. This year the Greek parliament has done the same and a resolution was introduced in the Canadian Parliament. The Congress of the United States, the deliberative body of the world's greatest democracy, which should be taking the lead on this matter. Sadly the United States is lagging in re-affirming the Armenian Genocide. This is a responsibility that should not be shirked in light of the conscious reversal of U.S. policy by current and prior administrations on the very record of the United States on the issue of the Armenian Genocide.

Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton have failed to deliver on campaign promises to affirm the Armenian Genocide. It is therefore incumbent on the Congress to demonstrate leadership both nationally and internationally and secure the American record on the Armenian Genocide from further dispute. To delay a decision on re-affirming the United States' longstanding policy on the Armenian Genocide as a historical and documented fact is to permit latitude to those who contest, distort, and deny the Armenian Genocide.

This very concern lies at the heart of a petition signed by one hundred prominent American scholars and writers who offered that the "denial of Genocide is the final stage of Genocide." They placed their petition in the February 2, 1996 issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* under the heading "Taking A Stand Against The Turkish Government's Denial of the Armenian Genocide and Scholarly Corruption in the Academy." (Full text attached)

Theirs is not just an abstract concern. Rather, it is based on evidence published in the prestigious journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* which is issued by Oxford University in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Three distinguished scholars, Roger W. Smith of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, Eric Markusen of Southwest State University in Marshall, Minnesota, and Robert Jay Lifton of The City University of New York, in an article entitled "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide," summarized their findings this way:

"This article examines Turkish efforts to deny the Armenian Genocide of 1915-17. Specifically, it exposes an arrangement by which the government of Turkey has channeled funds into a supposedly objective research institute in the United States, which in turn paid the salary of a historian who served that government in its campaign to discredit scholarship on the Armenian Genocide. After a short review of the Armenian Genocide and a range of Turkish denial efforts, three documents are reproduced in full. They include a letter that Robert Jay Lifton received from the Turkish Ambassador to the United States--a memorandum to the Turkish Ambassador and a draft letter to Lifton for the Ambassador's signature. After a critical analysis of each document, we discuss the harmfulness of Genocide denial and explore why intellectuals might engage in the denial of known Genocides. The article concludes with reflections on the relationship between scholars and truth." (The full text of the article is attached to this testimony.)

That any American scholar denies the Armenian Genocide should be cause for alarm and outrage. A frequent device relied upon by deniers is the pretense that only persons of ethnic Armenian background believe that the atrocities committed against the Armenians during W.W.I constitute a genocide. They willfully ignore the vitally important fact that the first person to characterize the Armenian massacres as genocide was Raphael Lemkin, the person who coined the term genocide, and who was the principal author and tireless proponent of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. In spite of all the evidence, deniers like Stanford Shaw and Justin McCarthy, among others, persist with their discredited arguments. Through the invention of argument, the distortion of fact, and through the sheer ignoring of the basic evidence, they seem to believe that they can persuade others to overlook the enormous quantity of evidence in the U.S. record that points to the opposite.

In view of the documentation and research on the Armenian Genocide carried out by scholars around the world, in view of the international gestures of affirmation of the historical record, in view of the concerted efforts of conscientious educators in the United States to teach about human rights and the Armenian Genocide, and in view of the exposure of the source of the denial of the Armenian Genocide, there is no reason for the Congress of the United States to demur.

If the Armenian Genocide was the prototype of the genocides of this century, as many experts have argued, then it must be made certain that the denial of the Armenian Genocide is not permitted to become the prototype for the denial of the genocides of the twentieth century. The United States Congress passed H. Res. 316 last month. This House Resolution began by "Deploring individuals who deny the historical reality of the Holocaust and commending the vital, ongoing work of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum."

The Holocaust Museum, through its publication, has taken a bold and laudable stand against the denial of the Armenian Genocide. The Holocaust Museum is a beacon for Americans who trace their ancestry to persons who were persecuted because of their race, ethnicity, or religion, and who were fortunate to find refuge and new life in the United States. On a wall of the Holocaust Museum visitors today can read the frightening observation made by Adolf Hitler: "Who after all remembers today the extermination of the Armenians." It is not by accident that the former executive director of the Institute of Turkish Studies by the name of Heath W. Lowry, now a

professor at Princeton University, and who is identified in the article in the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* as one of the authors of the denial campaign waged by Turkey in the United States also attempted to question the authenticity of these remarks by Hitler. The Holocaust Museum re-authenticated the Hitler statement as one of the vital pieces of historical evidence connecting the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust.

It needs to be brought to the attention of the Committee that this hearing constitutes the fourth such occasion in the last twenty years that Congress examined the record on the Armenian Genocide in order to determine a course of action. On May 11, 1976, the House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy in its "Investigation into Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future" heard testimony from a distinguished panel of experts who provided the Committee with extensive evidence about the history of the events of 1915 through 1918 and reminded the Committee of the American record of decisions, resolutions, and policy statements which clearly demonstrated the longstanding United States position on the Armenian Genocide. It behooves the Committee to re-introduce that evidence into the record once again as a reminder of the length of time it has taken this august body to find the determination to set the record straight once and for all.

That hearing was held in the light of the April 8, 1975 adoption by the U.S. House of Representative of H.J. Res. 148, the Joint Resolution to designate April 24, 1975, as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man,' which read:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That April 24, 1975, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling for all the victims of Genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the Genocide perpetrated in 1915, and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world."

That resolution represented a major step in renewing and in re-affirming the U.S. position on the Armenian Genocide. The State Department's 1982 decision to reverse U.S. policy at the cost of ignoring the longstanding historical record and the reluctance of successive administration to restore the record has thereby necessitated Congressional action on the Armenian Genocide.

In February 1990, the Senate spent three days debating a resolution similar to the 1975 House resolution. It was introduced by the current Senator Bob Dole. Senator Dole availed the Senate of a massive amount of evidence which was read into the record to demonstrate to his colleagues the historical truth about the Armenian Genocide. Two objections were raised at the time: that the full historical record was yet to be established, and that the resolution was not in the national security interest of the United States in view of its alliance with the Republic of Turkey, a valued member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Neither of those arguments are tenable any longer. Scholars, researchers, historians and others have gathered more evidence on the Armenian Genocide than any one person can expect to sift through in a single lifetime.

Moreover the great body of documents in the United States National Archives is now compiled into a readily accessible collection for the scrutiny of anyone interested in looking at the evidence for himself or herself.

Turkey's value as a NATO ally should not be a lever to force the United States to deny the undeniable or to coerce the United States into silence about its own history and its own record. The only thing left to consider is whether Turkey will itself resign from persisting in its campaign to deny the Armenian Genocide. That, however, is a concern that needs to be divorced from the central objective which this Committee must focus upon, and that is the re-affirmation of the American record on the Armenian Genocide and the agreement of Congress with the United States Court of Appeals that the 1982 State Department views "contradicted longstanding United States policy," and that any retractions since by the Department have proven insufficient in clarifying the U.S. position in view of the continuing reluctance of U.S. administrations to state that position in the affirmative.

At the very least Congress should adopt the resolution under consideration, H. Con. Res. 47, as an important symbolic first step in an eventual permanent U.S. re-affirmation. What is ultimately required is for the President and the Congress of the United States to speak with one voice about the Armenian Genocide as a historical fact based on the evidence of the American record.

Permit me to conclude by taking this occasion to inform the Committee that the Board of Trustees and Directors of the Armenian Assembly announced this April 24 the formation of a new research center in Washington, D.C., to be called the Armenian National Institute, dedicated to the purpose of collecting and preserving all the obtainable evidence on the Armenian Genocide. The objective of the project is to undertake the measures necessary in the domain of academic, education, and legal research that affirm the full dimensions and historic significance of the Armenian Genocide. In so doing the project seeks to create the conditions for the universal acknowledgment of the Armenian Genocide as historical fact documented to the satisfaction of international opinion.

A FOLLOW-UP OF THE SIXTY-NINE SCHOLARS WHO SIGNED AN ADVERTISEMENT
QUESTIONING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

by I S R A E L W. C H A R N Y and D A P H N A F R O M E R

How are we to understand the mind of a rational person who denies the historical authenticity of a major historical tragedy such as the Holocaust or the Armenian genocide? On December 2, 1985, 69 scholars signed an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times, Washington Post, and Washington Times which questioned insidiously the evidence of the Armenian genocide. Instead of denying the occurrence of the genocide outright, the scholars proceeded self-righteously in the name of the values of historical and scientific truth to call on the Turkish and other governments to open all the archives so that the facts -- presumably unknown even in their essence as to whether or not there was a state-authorized and executed genocide of the Armenians -- will be ascertained.

Since its publication, the advertisement has been repeatedly referred to as proof that "many scholars do not believe there was a genocide of the Armenian people by the Turks," and it appears as a key document in repeated Turkish lobby statements to members of the U.S. Congress.

In an effort to understand more fully the attitudes of the scholars who signed the advertisement, the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem undertook a follow-up study of the signators. In an accompanying statement of "Acknowledgement of Bias," the Institute conveyed to the scholars that our own studies of the subject have previously convinced us of the authenticity of the Armenian genocide, moreover that we have had our own direct experience with Turkish government efforts to suppress the record in connection with the landmark International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide in Tel Aviv in 1982.

The questionnaire inquired into the respondents' knowledge of and opinions about the events that took place at the time of the Armenian genocide, their knowledge of and opinions towards any attempts to suppress and revise the historical record by either the

Turks or the Armenians, their knowledge of the uses to which the advertisement has been put and about signators' current attitudes about the advertisement and their participation in it.

A total of 62 mailings are presumed to have reached their destination -- we failed to find an address for one signator and six other packages were returned as undeliverable. Of these 62, 4 returned empty questionnaires as statements of their refusal to participate, 10 wrote letters -- a number of them detailed and expository -- explaining their refusal to answer the questionnaire and also their attitudes about the subject of the Armenian genocide, while 7 returned completed questionnaires. Altogether, the total of 21 active responses represents a surprisingly high figure of 34% responses (compared to an average expectation of 10% response to mail questionnaires in the social sciences). As the emotional intensity of the responses show, indications are that not only the questionnaire itself aroused tension but the subject of the advertisement is, as it should be, a focus of no little tension for many signators.

Some of the information revealed by those who did respond sheds light on the creation of this very clever propaganda technique, and in our judgment provides sufficient evidence on which to discredit the advertisement: Like in an earlier report by the Armenian Assembly of America of its follow-up correspondence with the 69 signators, several respondents indicated that (a) they had no doubt about the essential truth of the Armenian genocide; (b) they are fully aware of the Turkish government's intention to falsify the record through censorship, suppression and revision of the facts; (c) and as to the advertisement itself, that they had not been aware that the Turks would use their call to open the archives to 'prove' that there was no Armenian genocide, nor did they know that there would be repeated use of their statement beyond a single advertisement.

[Cont'd on Page 7]

FOLLOW-UP OF 69 SCHOLARS WHO SIGNED ADVERTISEMENT

It should be noted that at the same time, all the respondents who commented on the matter were adamant that they had received no reward or promise of reward for their participation in the advertisement, and a good number of them were insulted and irate at what they felt were the implication of such questions by us.

What stands out in the responses of these 17 scholars is that many of them go to great pains to explain that their intentions are innocent and good, they are only interested in being responsible academicians, indeed that they want to bring an end to inter-ethnic tensions and help people forget and forgive long-ago events that should not be allowed to get in the way of present-day peaceful relationships between peoples. We call this presentation a style of "innocence and self-righteousness" and include it in the following list of mechanisms of language and propaganda which are the ones we found were being used to disguise and justify the full meaning of the denials.

The following are the patterns of 'thinking defense-mechanisms' which we identified which 'allow' the scholars to engage in the denial of the genocide:

1. Innocence and Self-Righteousness. The respondents claim that they only intend to ascertain the truth. Moreover, they do not believe that human beings could have been so evil as the descriptions of the genocide imply. Furthermore, even if many deaths took place a long time ago, it is important to put them aside now and forgive and forget.

2. Scientificism in the Service of Denial. The position taken is seemingly an innocent one that we do not know enough to know what the facts of history were, and rather than condemning anyone we should await the ultimate decision of research. This is a manipulative misuse of the science-value principle that facts must be proven. The very purpose of science, which is to know, is invoked in order to justify a form of know-nothingness.

3. Practicality, Pragmatism, and Realpolitik. Here the claim is made that dealing with ancient history is impractical, it will not bring peace to the world in which we live today. One must be realistic and live through realpolitik.

[Cont'd from Page 6]

4. Idea-Linkage Distortion and Time-Sequence Confusion. This is a dishonest linkage of different ideas often out of time sequence to excuse denials of the facts, e.g., current Armenian terrorism against Turks will be exonerated and encouraged if Turkey admits to past events of the Armenian genocide; Turkish national responsibility for the Armenian genocide would constitute "retribution" against innocent present and future grandchildren and great-grandchildren of past perpetrators; the damage that present acknowledgement of the genocide would cause to the real security needs of the U.S. and NATO today does not justify bringing out the past record of long-ago events which are all over.

5. Indirection, Definitionalism, and Maddening. These are responses which avoid the issue by failing to reply or by going off on tangents about trivial details that avoid the essential issue of whether genocide took place. Definitionalism refers to a form of maddening resistance that is particularly common to academics who enter into definitional battles over whether or not a given event really fits the pure form of definition of genocide, so that so much energy goes into the definitional struggle that the significance of the event and its enormous human tragedy are virtually written out of existence.

Denials of genocide are rooted in several mind-phenomena which represent some of the weakest aspects of the development of the human mind and civilization as a whole. For the inability to differentiate between the factual and not-factual certainly stands in opposition to all that western-world science and development strive for in the ways of truth and knowledge.

ISRAEL M. CHARNY is Executive Director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem. He is author of How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? (1982); editor, with Shalom Davidson, of The Book of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide (1983); editor of Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide (1984); and editor of Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review (1988).

DAPHNA FROMER is a Fellow of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide.

Taking A Stand Against The Turkish Government's Denial of the Armenian Genocide and Scholarly Corruption in the Academy

In the years 1915-1918 the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire carried out a systematic, premeditated genocide against the Armenian people—an unarmed Christian minority living under Turkish rule. Over a million Armenians were exterminated through direct killing, starvation, torture, and forced deportation marches, and about another million were sent into exile, thus expunging Armenians living everywhere in Turkey (except in Constantinople and Smyrna) and wiping out a 3,000-year-old civilization situated on its ancient homeland in central and eastern Anatolia.

The Armenian Genocide was the most dramatic human rights issue of the first decades of the 20th century, and was reported regularly with bold headlines in *The New York Times*. The Armenian Genocide is well documented by Ottoman court-martial records, an abundance of documents in official archives of nations around the world, photographic evidence, the reports of missionaries and diplomats, especially from the United States, England, Germany, and Austria, the testimony of survivors, and eight decades of historical scholarship.

Despite these facts the Turkish government has devoted increasingly insidious ways of denying the genocide of the Armenians. Today Turkey would like the world to believe that the systematic extermination of a defenseless and stateless people was a civil war. The signers of this statement attest to the recent disclosures about the Turkish government's attack on and attempts to censor scholarship about the Armenian Genocide. These tactics are documented in an article "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide," by Roger Smith, Eric Markusen, and Robert Jay Lifton, in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Spring 1995).

1) Beginning in the Cold War era Turkey has periodically coerced the U.S. government on the issue of Armenian Genocide recognition by threatening to close U.S. air bases in Turkey. In the 1980s Turkey coerced Congress to defeat resolutions that would have designated a national day of remembrance of the Armenian Genocide.

2) Since the 1980s Turkey has attempted to censor U.S. public school curriculums by prevailing on state boards of education to omit the Armenian Genocide from Holocaust and genocide teaching materials.

3) In 1982 the Turkish government tried to force the cancellation of an academic conference in Tel Aviv, where the Armenian Genocide was to be discussed, by making threats to the safety of Jews in Turkey. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington reported similar threats over plans to include reference to the Armenian Genocide in its exhibits.

4) The Turkish government pays public relations firms in the U.S. millions of dollars each year to cleanse its human rights image, past and present.

5) The Turkish government is funding Chairs of Turkish history at prestigious American universities in order to cleanse its image and deny its past. Recently, Professor Heath W. Lowry, who holds the Ataturk Chair of Turkish Studies at Princeton University (endowed by \$1.5 million from the Republic of Turkey) and formerly executive director of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., in Washington, D.C., has been exposed as having worked closely with the Turkish government to discredit scholarship that mentions the Armenian Genocide.

6) When scholars deny genocide, their message is: murderers did not really murder; victims were not really killed; mass murder requires no confrontation, but should be ignored. Scholars who deny genocide lend their considerable authority to the acceptance of this ultimate human crime.

7) The denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide: it murders the dignity of the survivors and destroys the remembrance of the crime. Denial of genocide strives to reshape history in order to rehabilitate the perpetrators and demote the victims. The Turkish government's denial of the Armenian Genocide encourages—by its very nature—the current programs that deny the Jewish Holocaust and the Cambodian genocide. It encourages genocidal episodes that are currently occurring in Africa, the Balkans, and elsewhere. The Turkish government's tactics pave the way for state-sponsored Holocaust and genocide denial in the future.

8) We denounce as intellectually and morally corrupt Turkey's manipulation of American institutions for the purpose of denying its genocide of the Armenians.

We condemn fraudulent scholarship supported by the Turkish government and carried out in American universities.

We urge U.S. government, institutions, and citizens to reject Turkey's genocide denial tactics.

We urge the U.S. Congress to pass the Armenian Genocide Resolution (H. Con. Res. 47).

We advocate that U.S. government officials, scholars, and the media refer to the annihilation of the Armenians as genocide, and not use evasive or euphemistic terminology to appease the Turkish government.

This statement is signed by 100 scholars and writers, including:

Agha Shahid Ali Poet, Professor of English, University of Massachusetts
Michael Arlen Writer
James Axtell Professor of History, College of William and Mary
Ben Bagdikian Former Dean of the School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley
Houston Baker Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania
Peter Balakian Poet, Professor of English, Colgate University
Mary Catherine Bateson Professor of Anthropology, George Mason University
Yehuda Bauer Professor of Holocaust Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Robert N. Bellah Eliot Professor of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley
Robert McAfee Brown Prof. of Theology and Ethics, Emeritus, Pacific School of Religion
Israel W. Charny Director, Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem
Rev. William Sloane Coffin Pastor, Emeritus, Riverside Church, N.Y.C.
Warren Coheo Distinguished University Professor, University of Maryland
Peter Cowe Associate Professor of Middle East Languages and Cultures, Columbia Univ.
Yahkhan Dadrian Director, Genocide Study Project, H.F. Guggenheim Foundation
David Brion Davis Sterling Professor of History, Yale University
James Der Derian Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts
Marjorie Houshean Dobkin Writer, Former Professor of English, Barnard College
Jean Bethke Elshanson Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics, University of Chicago Divinity School
Kari Erikson Professor of Sociology, Yale University
Helen Fein Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Genocide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
Carolyn Forché Poet, Professor of English, George Mason University
Lawrence J. Friedman Professor of History, Indiana University
Henry Louis Gates Jr. Professor of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University
Langdon Gilkey Kennedy Distinguished Visiting Professor of Theology, Georgetown Univ.
Vigen Gurorian Professor of Theology and Ethics, Loyola College
Michael S. Harper Poet, University Professor, Brown University
Geoffrey Hartman Sterling Professor of Comparative Literature, Yale University
Seamus Heaney Poet, Division Professor of Rhetoric, Harvard University, Nobel Laureate
Raul Hilberg Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, University of Vermont
Herbert Hirsch Professor of Political Science, Virginia Commonwealth University
Richard G. Hovavarian Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History, L.C.U.
Steven T. Katz Professor of Jewish History and Thought, Cornell University
Alfred Kazin Writer
Robert Jay Lifton Distinguished Professor in Psychiatry and Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate School, City University of New York
Deborah E. Lipstadt Distinguished Professor in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies, Emory Univ.
Nurman Mailer Writer
Eric Markusen Professor of Sociology, Southern State University, Maryland
Robert Melson Professor of Political Science, Princeton Univ.
Saul Mendlovitz Distinguished Professor, Rutgers University
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Joyce Carol Oates Writer
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Nathan A. Scott William R. Kenan Professor of Religious Studies, Emeritus, Univ. of Virginia
Susan Sontag Writer
Roger Smith Professor of Government, College of William & Mary
Max L. Stackhouse Stephen G. Cowell Prof. of Christian Ethics, Emeritus, Theological Seminary, University of Virginia
Charles B. Strozier Professor of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate Center, City University of New York
William Styron Writer
Ronald Suny Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
Raymond Tanter Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan
D. M. Thomas Writer
Nancy Bernkopf Tucker Professor of History, Georgetown University
John Updike Writer
Kurt Vonnegut Writer
Derek Walcott Prof. Professor of English, Boston University, Nobel Laureate
Eugene Weiner Cooley Professor of Peace Studies and Professor of Sociology, Colgate Univ.
Nigel J. Young Professor, Emeritus of History, Brown University
Howard Zinn Professor, Emeritus of History, Boston University

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Justin McCarthy
Professor
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May 15, 1966

Committee on International Relations

The history of the Armenian-Turkish conflict is complicated and contentious, impossible to describe accurately in statements of one-sided guilt such as that presently before Congress.

Ethnic conflict between Turks and Armenians actually began more than 100 years before World War I. Actions of the Russian Empire precipitated the conflict. In 1800, Armenians were scattered within and beyond a region that now encompasses Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Eastern Turkey. In all but small districts, Armenians were a minority which had been under Muslim, primarily Turkish, rule for 700 years. The Russian Empire had begun the imperial conquests of the Muslim lands south of the Caucasus Mountains. One of their main weapons was the transfer of populations--deportation. They ruthlessly expelled whole Muslim populations, replacing them with Christians whom they felt would be loyal to a Christian government. Armenians were a major instrument of this policy. Like others in the Middle East, the primary loyalty of Armenians was religious. Many Armenians resented being under Muslim rule, and they were drawn to a Christian State and to offers of free land (land which had been seized from Turks and other Muslims). A major population exchange began. In Erivan Province (today the Armenian Republic) a Turkish majority was replaced by Armenians. In other regions such as coastal Georgia, Circassia, and the Crimea, other Christian groups were brought in to replace expelled Muslims. There was massive Muslim mortality--in some cases up to one-third of the Muslims died.

The Russians expelled 1.3 million Muslims from 1827 to 1878. One result of this migration, serving the purposes of the Russians, was the development of ethnic hatred and ethnic conflict between Armenians and Muslims. Evicted Muslims who had seen their families die in the Russian Wars felt animosity toward Armenians. Armenians who hated Muslim rule looked to the Russians as liberators. Armenians cooperated with Russian invaders of Eastern Anatolia in wars in 1828, 1854, and 1877. When the Russians retreated, Armenians feared Muslim retaliation and fled. Hatred grew on both sides.

The situation was exacerbated by rebellions of Armenian revolutionaries in the 1890s in which cities in Eastern Anatolia were seized and many Muslims and Armenians were killed. Intercommunal warfare between Turks and Armenians in Azerbaijan during the Russian Revolution of 1905 added to the peoples' distrust of each other. Muslims and Armenians were now divided into sides, antagonists. Each group believed that in a war they would be killed if they did not kill first, a classic self-fulfilling prophecy. Most Muslims and most Armenians had no wish to be a part of this, but they were caught in the awful consequences of their expectations and their history.

Intercommunal war erupted when the Ottoman Empire entered World War I. Armenian revolutionaries, many trained in Russia, attempted to seize main Ottoman cities in Eastern

Anatolia. They took the city of Van and held it until Russia invaders arrived, killing all but a few of the Muslims of the city and surrounding villages. In the countryside, Muslim tribesmen killed the Armenians who fell into their hands. Armenian and Kurdish bands killed throughout the East, and massacre was the rule of the time. Russian and Ottoman regular troops were less murderous, but they too gave little quarter to those viewed as the enemy. Some of the worst civilian deaths of Turks and Armenians came at the end of the war. The killing went on until 1920. Many more died of starvation and disease than from bullets.

The results were among the worst seen in warfare. More than forty per cent of the Anatolian Armenians died; similar mortality was the fate of the Muslims of the war zone. In the province of Van, for example, 60% of the Muslims were lost by war's end.

During the war, each side engaged in *de facto* deportations of the other. When the Russians and Armenians triumphed, all the Muslims were exiled, as were all the Armenians when the Ottomans triumphed. The Ottoman government also organized an official deportation of Armenians in areas under their control. None of these deportation was wholly justified by wartime necessity, but the deportations were not acts of one-sided genocide on the part of either Turks or Armenians.

It is the Muslim actions against Armenians that have been called genocide, an accusation that is primarily based on counting only the Armenian dead, not the Muslim dead. I do not believe the Ottoman government ever intended a genocide of Armenians. This conclusion is based on both evidence and logic:

- Of the masses of secret deportation orders seen to date, not one orders murder. Instead, they order Ottoman officials to protect deported Armenians. It has been argued that the Ottomans must have sent out another set of secret orders, contradicting the first set of secret orders, which were a subterfuge. This assumes that the Ottomans deliberately confused their own officials in wartime so that future historians would be fooled--a more than unlikely proposition.
- Large Armenian populations, such as those of Istanbul and other major cities, remained throughout the war. These were areas where Ottoman power was greatest and genocide would have been easiest. To decide whether genocide was intended, it is instructive to compare this to the Nazi genocide of the Jews. The Jews of Berlin were killed, their synagogues defiled. The Armenians of Istanbul lived through the war, their churches open.

- Another telling argument against genocide is that hundreds of thousands of Armenians survived deportation to the Arab World. If genocide were intended, it must be believed that the Ottomans could not manage to kill them, even though these Armenians were completely under Ottoman control for three years. This is not believable.

It was in fact in the regions where Ottoman control was weakest that columns of Armenian deportees suffered most. The stories of the time give many examples of columns of hundreds of Armenians guarded by perhaps two government guards. When the columns were attacked by tribesmen or bandits Armenians were robbed and killed. It must be remembered that these tribes were those who had themselves suffered greatly at the hands of Armenians and Russians. Were the Ottomans guilty? They were guilty of not properly protecting their citizens. Given the situation of the time, with Turks and Kurds fighting for their lives against Russians and Armenians, this is understandable, although it is never excusable for a government not to protect its people. Conditions are best illustrated in the Van province, where Muslim mortality was greatest. The central government ordered the Van governor to send gendarmes, rural policemen, to guard columns of Armenian deportees. He responded that he had forty gendarmes at his disposal--all the others were fighting at the Russian Front. The 40 gendarmes were protecting Muslim villages against Armenian attacks. He refused to let the Muslims be killed by Armenians so that Armenians could be protected from Muslims.

While Ottoman weakness should be censured, should we not also ask how well Armenians and Russians protected the Turks and Kurds who fell under their control? The answer is that in provinces such as Van, where intercommunal fighting was fiercest, Muslims who could not escape from Armenian bands were killed. Virtually the entire Muslim population of southeast and far eastern Anatolia either became refugees or died. Like the deportation of Armenians, this too was a deportation with great mortality. It should also be recorded when the evils of deportation are considered.

Few of the historical questions raised by the Muslim-Armenian conflict can be answered in a short description such as the above, nor can they be answered by Congressional votes. Why then has the Congress sometimes in the past voted condemnation of one side in the conflict?

One reason is that we have all been conditioned to expect a world of heroes and villains, or victims and villains. This feeling has sometimes caused Americans to misinterpret events, particularly in the Middle East. However, it is the Holocaust of the Jews that has most deeply and properly affected us. Our remembrance of the evils of Nazi Germany has unfortunately caused us to see other events of history through the glass of the Holocaust. In the Holocaust, an

innocent people was persecuted and annihilated. There was no Jewish threat to the German State. Yet the full force of a modern state was mobilized to slaughter the innocent. We naturally think of the Holocaust when we evaluate other examples of inhumanity. But no event of history can compare to the Holocaust. Indeed, in history most loss of civilian life has taken place in wars in which both sides were armed, both sides fought, and both sides were victims. World War I in Anatolia was such a war.

Assuming one-sided evil has led to an unfortunate approach to the history of the Armenians and the Turks. Instead of investigating the history of the time without prejudice, all the guilt has been attached to one side. Once the Turks were assumed to be guilty, the search was on to find proof. The process has been one of assertion and refutation. It was asserted that Talat Pasha, the Ottoman Interior Minister, had written telegrams ordering the murder of Armenians, but these proved to be forgeries. It was asserted that statistics supposedly "from the Armenian Patriarchate" proved that Armenians were a majority in Eastern Anatolia, but these statistics were found to have been created, without reference to any actual records, by a writer in Paris. It was asserted that letters published during World War I by the British Propaganda Office showed Turkish guilt, but these have proven to have been sent by missionaries and Armenian revolutionaries, both of whom were less than neutral sources. It was asserted that courts-martial by a post-war Turkish government proved that Turks had engaged in genocide, although careful examination of the records shows that the charges were included among long lists of "crimes" brought by a government under control of British occupiers--lists that include all sorts of actions that are demonstrably false and include anything that would please the conquerors.

The problem with these assertions is that the accusations have been given wide distribution, while the refutations have been generally known only to historians. For example, so few have seen actual population statistics that it is commonly believed that Armenians were a majority in what is still called Armenia, even though Muslims actually outnumbered Armenians three to one. The British propaganda descriptions of Armenian deaths, all of them from anonymous sources, has often been reprinted, with no mention that the Armenian revolutionary parties were a source. Nor is it mentioned that historians have proven that the British propagandists routinely invented their "evidence." Those who speak of supposed evidence from the period when the British occupied Istanbul neglect to mention that the British themselves, who had complete control over all Ottoman official records, were forced at the time to admit that they could find no evidence of an organized genocide against Armenians.

There is no time in this short statement to consider all the effects of prejudice and the power of ethnic groups in America. It can simply be said that few wished to consider any but

anti-Turkish statements. The Turks themselves, busy for decades with reconstruction of a war-torn country, long paid little attention to what was being said of them in America. Only recently have studies questioning conventional beliefs begun to appear. Generations of Americans had been raised with one set of beliefs, and those who have brought up opposing views have been vilified, their arguments unconsidered. Sadly for those of us who firmly believe that the Holocaust took place, some scholars of the Genocide of the Jews have attacked any reconsideration of Armenian-Turkish relations out of a fear that this will somehow give comfort to those who, against all evidence, disavow the Holocaust. It must also be admitted that we academics have been unwilling to undertake studies of Armenian-Turkish relations, because of problems with career advancement and even physical dangers.

Should what I say here prove to the United States Congress that Turks were not guilty of one-sided genocide against Armenians? No. Nor should the statements of those with opposing views convince the Congress that their views are correct. The historical questions are too involved for easy answers or quick condemnations. History should be determined by the normal procedures of historians. We should write our books and engage in debates until we gradually come to accepted conclusions. Turkish scholars, Armenian scholars, and those of us who are neither Turks nor Armenians should not feel that Congress has decided that the issue is resolved, when we know that this is not the case. Such action can only hinder real investigation of the historical question. There is a very real threat to scholarship when one group of scholars must face the awful and undeserved title of "genocide deniers" when they do their proper work.

There is a statement on the Turkish-Armenian conflict that Congress can justifiably pass, but it is a general humanitarian statement. The lesson to be learned from the World War I experience of the Turks and the Armenians is not that one group was evil, one good. The lesson is that good people, whatever their ethnic group or religion, can be driven by events, their environment, and their history to do evil, because they believe they have no choice. In the history of war, that is all too often the case. The moral to be drawn is not that one side, one ethnic group, should be blamed. That is an historical error and a wrong that perpetuates the ethnic hatred that caused the disaster of the Armenians, as well as the disaster of the Turks. The events of World War I should be honored and mourned as a human, not an ethnic tragedy. If the Congress is to make a statement on the events of World War I, I would hope it would be a statement of pity for all those who suffered that terrible history.

Justin McCarthy

Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide

Roger W. Smith

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia

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Robert Jay Lifton

The City University of New York

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Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide

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Southwest State University, Marshall, Minnesota

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This article examines Turkish efforts to deny the Armenian genocide of 1915–17. Specifically, it exposes an arrangement by which the government of Turkey has channeled funds into a supposedly objective research institute in the United States, which in turn paid the salary of a historian who served that government in its campaign to discredit scholarship on the Armenian genocide. After a short review of the Armenian genocide and a range of Turkish denial efforts, three documents are reproduced in full. They include a letter that Robert Jay Lifton received from the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, and two documents that were inadvertently included with the Lifton letter—a memorandum to the Turkish Ambassador and a draft letter to Lifton for the Ambassador's signature. After a critical analysis of each document, we discuss the harmfulness of genocide denial and explore why intellectuals might engage in the denial of known genocides. The article concludes with reflections on the relationship between scholars and truth.

The will to truth is cowed by pressure of numerous kinds, reasons of state on the one hand, economic necessities on the other, and, not least, the pure careerism of intellectuals who put their expertise in the service of power as a matter of course. When governments and professional elites find reward in the sophistries of might makes right, truth is bound to suffer.¹

Terrence Des Pres

It has been said that gentlemen do not read other gentlemen's mail. But suppose that one receives a letter from the Turkish ambassador to the United States rebuking one's scholarship because one has written about what the ambassador refers to as "the so-called 'Armenian genocide,' allegedly perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks during the First World War." And suppose that, inadvertently, the envelope also contains an in-

ternal memorandum written by the executive director of what claims to be a non-political, scholarly institute and that memorandum reveals much about the mentality of those who engage in denial of the Armenian genocide. What then?

The attempt to confuse and intimidate academics by such letters is an ongoing process. The letter that we shall present is from the current ambassador, but two of us have received such letters from his predecessor. The difference is that only in the letter to Robert Jay Lifton is there created an opportunity to see what takes place behind the scenes, what assumptions guide the work of scholars who engage in denial, and what the implications are in terms of professional ethics.

Our concern is not with the person who wrote the memorandum and drafted the letter, but with the role such scholars perform in the subversion of scholarship and with their assumptions which substitute a narrative of power for the search for truth. In such narratives, as Terrence Des Pres has noted, "knowledge" is what serves the interest of the powerful (particularly the state), the goal of knowledge is seen as control rather than freedom, and "truth" is whatever officials (and their adjuncts) say it is.²

The Armenian Genocide and Turkey's Attempt to Deny It

From 1915 to 1917 the Young Turk regime in the Ottoman Empire carried out a systematic, premeditated, centrally-planned genocide against the Armenian people. One of the documents authenticated by Turkish authorities in 1919 is a telegram sent in June 1915 by Dr. Sakir, one of the leaders of the secret organization that carried out the planning and implementation of the genocide. He asks the provincial party official who is responsible for carrying out the deportations and massacres of Armenians within his district: "Are the Armenians, who are being dispatched from there, being liquidated? Are those harmful persons whom you inform us you are exiling and banishing, being exterminated, or are they being merely dispatched and exiled? Answer explicitly. . . ."³

The evidence of intent is backed also by the outcome of the actions against the Armenians: it is inconceivable that over a million persons could have died due to even a badly flawed effort at resettlement. Moreover, the pattern of destruction was repeated over and over in different parts of Turkey, many of them far from any war zone; such repetition could only have come from a central design. Further, the reward structure was geared toward destruction of the Christian minority: provincial governors and officials who refused to carry out orders to annihilate the Armenians were summarily replaced.⁴

Armenian men were drafted into the army, set to work as pack animals, and subsequently killed. Leaders were arrested and executed. Then the deportations of women, children, and the elderly into the deserts of Syria and Iraq began. The American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, immediately recognized that the forced marches into the desert, and the atrocities that accompanied

them, were a new form of massacre. "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were simply giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."⁵

The ambassadors of Germany and Austria, representatives of governments allied with Turkey, also quickly realized what was taking place. As early as July 1915, the German ambassador reported to Berlin: "Turks began deportations from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out demonstrate that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey." And by January 1917 his successor reported: "The policy of extermination has been largely achieved; the current leaders of Turkey fully subscribe to this policy."⁶

More than one million Armenians perished as the result of execution, starvation, disease, the harsh environment, and physical abuse. A people who lived in eastern Turkey for nearly 3,000 years lost its homeland and was profoundly decimated in the first large scale genocide of the twentieth century. At the beginning of 1915 there were some two million Armenians within Turkey; today there are fewer than 60,000.

Despite the vast amount of evidence that points to the historical reality of the Armenian genocide—eyewitness accounts, official archives, photographic evidence, the reports of diplomats, and the testimony of survivors⁷—denial of the Armenian genocide by successive regimes in Turkey has gone on from 1915 to the present.⁸

The basic argument of denial has remained the same—it never happened, Turkey is not responsible, the term "genocide" does not apply. The tactics of denial, however, have shifted over the years.⁹ In the period immediately after World War I the tactic was to find scapegoats to blame for what was said to be only a security measure that had gone awry due to unscrupulous officials, Kurds, and common criminals. This was followed by an attempt to avoid the whole issue, with silence, diplomatic efforts, and political pressure used where possible. In the 1930s, for example, Turkey pressured the U.S. State Department into preventing MGM Studios from producing a film based on Franz Werfel's *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, a book that depicted aspects of the genocide in a district located west of Antioch on the Mediterranean Sea, far from the Russian front.¹⁰

In the 1960s, prompted by the worldwide commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide, efforts were made to influence journalists, teachers, and public officials by telling "the other side of the story." Foreign scholars were encouraged to revise the record of genocide, presenting an account largely blaming the Armenians or, in another version, wartime conditions which claimed the lives of more Turks than Armenians.¹¹ Thereafter, Turkey tried to prohibit any mention of the genocide in a United Nations report and was successful in its pressure on the Reagan and Bush administrations in defeating Congressional resolutions that would have designated April 24 as a national day of remembrance of the Armenian genocide.¹² The Turkish

government has also attempted to exclude any mention of the genocide from American textbooks. Stronger efforts still have been made to prevent any discussion of the 1915 genocide being formally included in the social studies curriculum as part of Holocaust and genocide studies.¹³

There have also been attempts by the Turkish government to disrupt academic conferences and public discussions of the genocide. A notable example was the attempt by Turkish officials to force cancellation of a conference in Tel Aviv in 1982 if the Armenian genocide were to be discussed, demands backed up with threats to the safety of Jews in Turkey.¹⁴ The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council reported similar threats over plans to include references to the Armenian genocide within the interpretive framework of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.¹⁵ At the same time, Turkey has sought to make an absolute distinction between the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide, defining the latter as “alleged” or “so-called.” The documents we have, however, show that, in private, such labeling drops off (a point to which we shall return and discuss in detail).

Finally, in the 1980s the Turkish government supported the establishment of “institutes,” whose apparent purpose was to further research on Turkish history and culture. At least one also was used to further denial of Turkish genocide and otherwise improve Turkey’s image in the West. To our knowledge, the memorandum and letters that we reproduce in full provide the first direct evidence of the close relationship between the Turkish government and one such institute. Before turning to that evidence, we shall provide background information on the origin, funding, stated purposes, and tax status of the institute from which that evidence comes.

The Institute of Turkish Studies

The Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., located in Washington, D.C., was established in 1982 with a grant of three million dollars from the Republic of Turkey.¹⁶ Information about its current finances is not readily available, but in 1989 it had expenditures of \$264,593, of which \$121,062 was for grants. That year it received gifts of nearly \$240,000. The sources of the gifts are unknown to us, but in the past much of its financial support has come from American corporations that sell military equipment to the Turkish government. In 1992 the Institute began a fund-raising campaign to double its endowment to six million dollars, with funds to be raised from businesses in America and Turkey.

The organization itself has a staff of two: an executive director and a secretary. There is also a board of directors, which includes several academics among its members.

In various directories of associations, its purposes and activities are listed as:

To provide funding for research centers and scholars interested in Turkish studies; to encourage development of Turkish studies in university curricula. Bestows awards. Maintains 5000 volume library on the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, and Turkish history.

Grants for the academic community of U.S. specialists in the field of Turkish studies; support includes awards to individual scholars and to institutions.

The Institute's fields of interest are said to be "Turkey, higher education." In terms of activities, it is said to provide grants to individuals and institutions for "research, publications, scholarship funds, fellowships, seed money, conferences and seminars, including matching funds, grants to individuals."

Its own brochure published within the first years of the founding of the Institute, however, throws a somewhat different light on its stated purpose. The Institute states that it has received grants from major defense contractors, such as General Dynamics and Westinghouse, and with this support the Institute "shall continue to play a key role in furthering knowledge and understanding of a key NATO ally of the United States, the Republic of Turkey, among citizens of our country."¹⁷ Unfortunately, the phrase "furthering knowledge and understanding" includes measures that have been construed as denial of the Armenian genocide.

Under United States tax law, the Institute falls within section 501(c)3 of the Internal Revenue Filing Status:

Charitable organization; educational organization; literary organization; organization to prevent cruelty to children; organization for public safety testing; religious organization; or scientific organization.

Given its tax filing status, the Institute for Turkish Studies is exempt from taxation. Contributions to the Institute are tax deductible.

The executive director of the Institute from its inception to 1994 was Dr. Heath W. Lowry, who received his doctorate in history from UCLA. His mentor at UCLA was Professor Stanford Shaw, whose history of Turkey strenuously denies the reality of the Armenian genocide, while, at the same time, blaming the victims, who are depicted as disloyal, rebellious, and terroristic.¹⁸ It is Lowry who wrote the memorandum and drafted the letter for the ambassador that are now made public for the first time.

In 1994 Dr. Lowry became the first incumbent of the Ataturk Chair in Turkish Studies at Princeton University. The chair was established through a \$1.5 million grant from the Republic of Turkey. In its *Report of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc, 1982-1992*, the Institute cites its "key role . . . in encouraging the Government of Turkey to embark upon a plan of endowing a series of Chairs in Turkish Studies at major American Universities. In an advisory capacity the Institute has been involved in every stage of this process." The report notes that the chair at Princeton is "fully established and funded" and that the Institute supports "the further creation of endowed chairs at three other U.S. Universities."¹⁹

Analysis of the Lowry Memorandum

Let us now consider what Lowry's memorandum reveals about the mentality and tactics of denial, then turn to the letter, commenting on its style and content.

MEMORANDUM

TO: H.E. AMBASSADOR NUZHET KANDEMIR;
 FROM: DR. HEATH W. LOWRY;
 RE: COMMENTS ON THE "ARMENIAN GENOCIDE" INCLUDED IN THE ROBERT JAY LIFTON STUDY ENTITLED: THE NAZI DOCTORS, MEDICAL KILLING AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GENOCIDE;
 DATE: SEPTEMBER 26, 1990.

PER YOUR REQUEST CONVEYED TO ME BY MS. HILAL BASKAL OF YOUR STAFF, I HAVE LOCATED AND READ LIFTON'S THE NAZI DOCTORS, WITH AN EYE TO DRAFTING A LETTER FOR YOUR SIGNATURE TO THE AUTHOR. LIFTON'S WORK, A MASSIVE TOME OF XIII + 561 PAGES, IS AUTHORED BY A PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY AT JOHN JAY COLLEGE AND THE GRADUATE CENTER OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK [NOTE: THE LATTER IS THE SAME INSTITUTION WHERE PROFESSOR RUSTOW OF THE ITS BOARD TEACHES]. HE IS A WELL KNOWN AUTHORITY ON THE TRAUMA OF WAR AND HIS MAJOR BOOKS INCLUDE:

DEATH IN LIFE (1968)
HOME FROM THE WAR (1973)
THE LIFE OF THE SELF (1976)
THE BROKEN CONNECTION (1979)
INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS (1982)

IN SHORT, LIFTON IS A RECOGNIZED AUTHORITY IN HIS OWN FIELD WHO CLEARLY KNOWS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING ABOUT THE SO-CALLED "ARMENIAN GENOCIDE." INDEED, A CAREFUL PERUSAL OF HIS BOOK, REVEALS THAT IN ITS 561 PAGES HE MAKES THE FOLLOWING FEW REFERENCES TO THE SUBJECT:

P. XII: "BUT I FOUND THAT NAZI DOCTORS DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THESE OTHER GROUPS, NOT SO MUCH IN THEIR HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION BUT IN THEIR CENTRAL ROLE IN GENOCIDAL PROJECTS... (PERHAPS TURKISH DOCTORS, IN THEIR PARTICIPATION IN GENOCIDE AGAINST THE ARMENIANS, COME CLOSEST, AS I SHALL LATER SUGGEST).."

NOTE: LIFTON DOES NOT PROVIDE ANY SOURCE FOR THIS STATEMENT FOLLOWING THIS PASSAGE:

PP. 466-7: "I SHALL REFER TO OTHER GENOCIDES--NOTABLY THE TURKS' ANNIHILATION OF ABOUT ONE MILLION ARMENIANS IN 1915--NOT WITH ANY CLAIM TO COMPREHENSIVENESS BUT ONLY TO SUGGEST WIDER APPLICATION."

NOTE: AGAIN NO FOOTNOTED SOURCE. MORE IMPORTANTLY IS LIFTON'S ADMISSION THAT HE DOESN'T CLAIM ANY EXPERTISE ON THE SUBJECT HE IS GOING TO ADDRESS:

P. 470: "THERE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN DEFINITE PARALLELS IN TURKISH HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO THEIR MASS MURDER OF ARMENIANS IN 1915. WITHIN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, THROUGHOUT THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THERE WAS AN ATMOSPHERE OF PROGRESSIVE 'DECAY AND DISINTEGRATION,' ALONG WITH A CONTINUOUS 'IF LOSING' STRUGGLE FOR

Memorandum from Dr. Heath Lowry, Executive Director of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., to Nuzhet Kandemir, Turkish Ambassador to the United States, September 26, 1990

The memorandum indicates that Lowry has been engaged in an ongoing relationship with the Turkish government, and that he has regularly offered advice on denial both to the Turkish ambassador to the United States and to other persons in Turkey (IADA-Ankara).

The memorandum also provides evidence of the desire to check scholars from referring to an Armenian genocide. Indeed, the process by now may even be almost bureaucratic. It is easy to surmise that someone at the embassy identifies books and articles that mention the genocide (is denial part of his or her official duties?), the list is turned over to Lowry at the request of the ambassador, and Lowry examines the

ADRIAN 4:

SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL UNIFICATION. THE TURKS ALSO EXPERIENCED HUMILIATING FORMS OF FAILED REGENERATION IN THEIR DISASTROUS MILITARY ENTERPRISES DURING THE 1912 BALKAN WAR (IGHOMINIOUS DEFEAT AT THE HANDS OF THEIR FORMER SLAVES AND WARDOS, THE GREEKS AND THE BULGARIANS) AND THEIR ABORTIVE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN 1915 AS A GERMAN ALLY. YAHAKN H. DADRIAN OBSERVES THAT THE TURKS MOVED CLOSER TO GENOCIDE AS THEIR PERCEPTION OF THEIR SITUATION PROCEEDED 'FROM THE CONDITION OF MERE STRAIN, TO THAT OF CRISIS, TO A PRECIPITATE CRISIS, AND EVENTUALLY TO THE CATAclysm OF WAR.' 19

FOOTNOTE 19: YAHAKN H. DADRIAN, "THE ROLE OF TURKISH PHYSICIANS IN THE WORLD WAR I GENOCIDE OF OTTOMAN ARME- NIAN," HOLocaust AND GENOCIDE STUDIES I (1986, FORTH- COMING); DADRIAN, "THE COMMON FEATURES OF THE ARMENIAN AND JEWISH CASES OF GENOCIDE: A COMPARATIVE VICTIMOLO- GICAL PERSPECTIVE," IN ISRAEL DRAPKIN AND EMILIO VIANO, VICTIMOLOGY: A NEW FOCUS, VOL. IV (LEXINGTON, MASS: D.C. HEATH, 1974), PP. 99-120. SEE ALSO, HELEN FEIN, ACCOUNT- ING FOR GENOCIDE: VICTIM AND SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST (NEW YORK: FREE PRESS, 1979), PP. 10-18.

NOTE: THE SOLE SOURCE FOR LIFTON'S COMMENTS IS THE ARME- NIAN AUTHOR: YAHAKN H. DADRIAN.

- P. 473: "AGAIN, THERE ARE SUGGESTIONS OF SIMILAR CURRENTS IN THE TURKISH SITUATION. THE 'YOUNG TURKS' WHO SOUGHT TO REFORM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE SPEARHEADED A MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO CHANGE THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF OTTOMAN SOCIETY AS AN ANTIDOTE TO INTERNAL DISCORD AND CONFLICT, AND ALSO AS A MEANS OF RE- CAPTURING IMPERIAL, PANTURKIC GLORY. THEIR CURE INCLU- DED AN ADMIXTURE OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES, AND GENOCIDE BECAME A MEANS FOR BRINGING ABOUT A RADICALCHANGE IN THE SYSTEM." 34

FOOTNOTE 34: SEE DADRIAN, "TURKISH PHYSICIANS" AND "COMMON FEATURES" 1191.

NOTE: AGAIN, LIFTON'S SOLE SOURCE FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE TURCO- ARMEINIAN QUESTION ARE THE TWO ARTICLES OF DADRIAN CITED IN FOOTNOTE 19.

- P. 475: "IN THE CASE OF THE TURKS, WHATEVER THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD SCIENCE, THEY DID PUT FORWARD A MYSTICAL VISION OF PAN- TURKIANISM (OR 'TURKIFICATION') WHICH ALLEGED A PREMISTO- RIC MYTHIC UNITY AMONG TURKISH PEOPLES BASED ON RACIAL ORI- GIN." 45 AND ONE CANNOT DOUBT THE EXPERIENCE OF TRANSCENDENCE OF TURKISH NATIONALISTS IN THEIR REVERSION TO FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM AS A CALL TO AN ANTI-ARMENIAN-CHRISTIAN CRUSADE- ALL ON BEHALF OF A NEW VISION OF OTTOMAN GLORY."

FOOTNOTE 45: DADRIAN, "TURKISH PHYSICIANS" 1191.

NOTE: ONCE AGAIN, LIFTON'S SOLE SOURCE IS DADRIAN!

works in question, provides a report in the form of a memorandum, and then prepares a letter for the ambassador's signature.

Lowry reads Lifton's book, not out of interest or to be informed: he does it as a service to the Turkish government, "with an eye to drafting a letter for your [the ambassador's] signature to the author." Why a scholar would conceive of his or her craft in this fashion is not a question that admits of easy answers. But as we shall suggest in another section of the article, it is not uncommon. What is clear from the memorandum, though, is that Lowry identifies with the power of the Turkish government. He twice refers to "our problem," that is, the availability of works that

- P. 483: "ARMENIANS WERE DESCRIBED AS 'A CANCER, A MALIGNANCE WHICH LOOKS LIKE A SMALL PIMPLE FROM THE OUTSIDE, WHICH, IF NOT REMOVED BY A SKILLFUL SURGEON'S SCALPEL, WILL KILL THE PATIENT.'" 108

FOOTNOTE 108: A YOUNG TURK ACTIVIST, QUOTED IN KUPER, GENOCIDE P. 40 (LEO KUPER, GENOCIDE: ITS POLITICAL USE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1981), PP. 15-23, 210-214.

NOTE: AGAIN, LIFTON IS SIMPLY CITING AN ALREADY PUBLISHED (AND VERY WELL KNOWN) BOOK BY A JEWISH EXPERT ON THE HOLOCAUST.

- P. 493: "ONE CANNOT SAY THAT ANY PARTICULAR LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY IS REQUIRED FOR GENOCIDE: THE TURKS KILLED ABOUT ONE MILLION ARMENIANS BY MEANS OF SHOOTING, CLUBBING, BEATING, SLAVE LABOR, STARVATION, AND OTHER FORMS OF TORTURE."

NOTE: THERE IS NO FOOTNOTE APPENDED TO THIS STATEMENT, BUT IT CLEARLY IS TAKEN FROM THE DADRIAN ARTICLES AS WELL.

IN SUMMATION, WHAT WE ARE FACED WITH HERE ARE SEVEN REFERENCES (COMPRISING ABOUT ONE FULL PAGE OF TEXT) IN A BOOK OF 561 PAGES. THEY ARE BASED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE ARTICLES BY DADRIAN (EACH OF WHICH HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF DETAILED MEMOS BY THIS WRITER IN PAST YEARS), TOGETHER WITH REFERENCES TO THE WORK OF HELEN FEIN (WHOSE BOOK INCLUDES A FULL CHAPTER ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE) AND LEO KUPER (WHOSE BOOK CONTAINS A VERY LONG CHAPTER ON THE GENOCIDE). STATED DIFFERENTLY, LIFTON, IN HIS BOOK PUBLISHED FOUR YEARS AGO IN 1986, IS SIMPLY USING THE EXISTING LITERATURE ON THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE. CONSEQUENTLY, OUR BASIC PROBLEM IS WITH AUTHORS SUCH AS DADRIAN, FEIN AND KUPER, EACH OF WHOM ARE NOW SERVING AS SOURCES FOR AUTHORS SUCH AS LIFTON. THESE FACTS MAKE IT RATHER DIFFICULT TO REGISTER OUR UNHAPPINESS WITH LIFTON PER SE, AS HE WILL QUITE JUSTIFIABLY RESPOND BY GIVING US REFERENCES TO HIS SOURCES, I.E., DADRIAN, FEIN AND KUPER.

OUR PROBLEM IS LESS WITH LIFTON THAN IT IS WITH THE WORKS UPON WHICH HE RELIES. LIFTON IS SIMPLY THE END OF THE CHAIN, THAT IS, FROM NOW ON WE WILL SEE ALL WORKS ON THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWS, INCLUDING REFERENCES SUCH AS THOSE MADE BY LIFTON ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKS OF DADRIAN, FEIN, KUPER, HOVANNISIAN, ET AL. THOUGH THIS POINT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY STRESSED BOTH IN WRITING AND VERBALLY TO IADA-ANKARA, WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN AS MUCH AS A SINGLE ARTICLE BY ANY SCHOLAR RESPONDING TO ՃԱԶՐԱԿԱՆ (OR ANY OF THE OTHERS AS WELL).

I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT IT BE POINTED OUT TO ANKARA THAT LIFTON'S BOOK IS SIMPLY THE END RESULT OF THE TURKISH FAILURE TO RESPOND IN A PROMPT FASHION TO THE DADRIAN ARTICLES AND THE FEIN AND KUPER BOOKS.

ON THE CHANCE THAT YOU STILL WISH TO RESPOND IN WRITING TO LIFTON, I HAVE DRAFTED THE FOLLOWING LETTER, WHICH, DUE TO THE ABSENCE OF AN ADDRESS FOR LIFTON WILL HAVE TO BE SENT TO HIM CARE OF HIS PUBLISHER:

discuss the Armenian genocide, suggesting that he sees himself as part of a power constellation engaged but in furthering the perceived interests of the government of Turkey.

Lowry is critical, in fact, of the ineptitude of the deniers who thereby fail to serve what he assumes are Turkey's interests. He has repeatedly told, verbally and in writing, those in power that they must attack and discredit articles or books by Dadrian, Fein, Kuper, and others, yet not a single attack has been written. He underlines the date of Lifton's book—1986—and suggests implicitly that four years is simply too long: material must be subjected to damage control at the earliest possible moment. And one does wonder why it took so long in this case, since Markusen and Smith received letters along the lines addressed to Lifton within months of the appearance of their essays in *Genocide and the Modern Age*.²⁰

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT LETTER

MR. ROBERT JAY LIFTON
2 BASIC BOOKS, INC.
10 E 53RD. STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DEAR MR. LIFTON:

YOUR 1986 PUBLICATION ENTITLED: THE NAZI DOCTORS, MEDICAL KILLING AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GENOCIDE WAS RECENTLY BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION. NEEDLESS TO SAY, I WAS SHOCKED BY REFERENCES IN YOUR WORK (PP. XII., 466-7, 470, 473, 476, 488, & 493) TO THE SO-CALLED "ARMENIAN GENOCIDE," ALLEGEDLY PERPETRATED BY THE OTTOMAN TURKS DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. I WAS EVEN MORE DISTURBED WHEN YOUR CITATIONS REVEALED THAT YOUR SOURCES CONSISTED OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS BY THREE INDIVIDUALS (YAHAKH N. DADRIAN, HELEN FEIN AND LEO KUPER), NONE OF WHOM ARE HISTORIANS OF THE PERIOD IN QUESTION AND NONE OF WHOM RELY ON PRIMARY RESEARCH IN THEIR OWN WORKS.

IN SHORT, YOU HAVE SIMPLY PASSED ALONG QUESTIONABLE SECONDARY SOURCES AS EVIDENCE FOR A NUMBER OF CONTENTIONS WHICH ARE, TO SAY THE LEAST, HOTLY DEBATED AMONG CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS WRITING ON THE PERIOD AND EVENTS IN QUESTION.

IT IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING TO SEE A MAJOR SCHOLAR ON THE HOLOCAUST, A TRAGEDY WHOSE ENORMITY AND BARBARITY MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN, SO CARELESS IN HIS REFERENCES TO A FIELD OUTSIDE HIS OWN AREA OF EXPERTISE. FOR TURKS, WHO ARE JUSTIFIABLY PROUD OF OUR LONG AND CONTINUING ROLE AS A HAVEN FOR MINORITIES (INCLUDING THE JEWS EVICTED FROM SPAIN BY THE INQUISITION), IT IS PARTICULARLY DISQUIETING TO FIND OUR OWN HISTORY DISTORTED IN WORKS DEVOTED TO THE HOLOCAUST OF WORLD WAR II.

TO COMPARE A TRAGIC CIVIL WAR (PERPETRATED BY MISGUIDED ARMENIAN NATIONALISTS) AND THE HUMAN SUFFERING IT BROUGHT ON BOTH THE MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN POPULATIONS, WITH THE HORRORS OF A PREMEDITATED ATTEMPT TO SYSTEMATICALLY ERADICATE A PEOPLE, IS, TO ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE HISTORY IN QUESTION, SIMPLY LUDICROUS.

I AM ENCLOSING COPIES OF WORKS BY TWO AMERICAN EXPERTS ON THE HISTORY OF TURCO-ARMENIAN RELATIONS, PROFESSORS JUSTIN MCCARTHY AND HEATH LOWRY, AND WOULD HOPE THAT IN THE INTERESTS OF OBJECTIVITY AND FAIRNESS YOU WILL NOT ONLY READ THEM, BUT REFLECT HAVING DONE SO IN ANY FUTURE WORKS YOU MAY PUBLISH.

SINCERELY YOURS,

MUZHET KANDEMIR
AMBASSADOR, REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Draft of letter to Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, prepared by Dr. Heath Lowry, to be signed by Ambassador Nuzhet Kandemir

Lowry's own work contains many questionable assertions and conclusions. He denies that Hitler ever uttered the widely quoted remark: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"²¹ And in his recent book, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, he asserts that Morgenthau's account of the genocide is nothing but "crude half-truths and outright falsehoods . . . from cover to cover."²² His conclusions do not in fact follow from his analysis or the evidence he can marshal. Quite astonishing, however, is his claim that what Talaat, a principal architect of the Armenian genocide, had in mind for the Armenians was not destruction, but "segregation," that the fate of the Armenians was to be that of African-Americans in the South in 1915.²³

Lowry apparently seeks to discredit the work of any author who treats the Ar-

TURKISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON D C
4047-434

10/16
certified mail

October 2, 1990

Mr. Robert Jay Lifton
c/o Basic Books, Inc.
10 E 53rd Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Lifton:

Your 1986 publication, The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide, was recently brought to my attention. Needless to say, I was shocked by references in your work (pp. xii, 488-7, 470, 473, 476, 488, and 493) to the so-called "Armenian genocide," allegedly perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks during the First World War. I was even more disturbed when your citations revealed that your sources consisted of articles and books by three individuals: Vahagn N. Dadrian, Helen Fein and Leo Kuper, none of whom are historians of the period in question and none of whom rely on primary research in their own works.

In short, you have simply passed along questionable secondary sources as evidence for a number of contentions which are, to say the least, hotly debated among contemporary scholars writing on the period and events at issue.

It is particularly disturbing to see a major scholar on the Holocaust, a tragedy whose enormity and barbarity must never be forgotten, so careless in his references to a field outside his area of expertise. For Turks, who are justifiably proud of our long and continuing role as a haven for minorities (including the Jews evicted from Spain by the Inquisition), it is particularly disquieting to find our own history distorted in works devoted to the Holocaust of World War II.

To compare a tragic civil war (initiated by Armenian nationalists) and the human suffering it wrought on both the Muslim and Christian populations with the horrors of a premeditated attempt to systematically eradicate a peaceable people, is, to anyone familiar with the history in question, simply ludicrous.

I am enclosing copies of works by two American experts on the history of Turco-Armenian relations, Professors Justin McCarthy and Heath Lowry, and would hope that in the interests of objectivity and fairness you will not only read them but also reflect having done so in any future works you may publish.

Yours Sincerely,


Nuzhet Kandemir
Ambassador

Letter from Ambassador Nuzhet Kandemir to Robert Jay Lifton, October 2, 1990

menian genocide as historical reality. But those in Ankara, with whom he has communicated again and again on how to discredit works on the Armenian genocide, have not heeded his words. "I strongly recommend that it be pointed out to Ankara. . . ." Had people listened to me, he suggests, "we" wouldn't be faced with "our" present "problem."

Analysis of the Letter to Lifton

Various perspectives on denial can be brought to bear on the content of the letter. Smith notes that typically the denial of genocide involves denial that the events took place, that the perpetrator bears any responsibility for the destruction, or that the term "genocide" is applicable to what occurred. Deborah Lipstadt, in her work on the Holocaust, speaks of the "Yes, but" mode of denial: applied to the present case, Yes, Armenians died, but so did Turks. Yes, Armenians were killed, but they brought it upon themselves. Yes, the conflict took place, but it was a civil war within a global war. Likewise, Israel Charny has pointed to a "template of denial," the rules of which include: do not acknowledge that the genocide took place; transform it into other kinds of events; portray the victims as the perpetrators; insist more victims were from the perpetrator's group; and relativize the genocide in whatever way possible.²⁴ The letter is too limited in purpose to display all of the elements depicted in these overlapping perspectives, but they are found in the larger literature of denial of the 1915 genocide.

In terms of the letter itself, however, we want to call attention to two aspects of denial that are part and parcel of Turkey's denial tactics. The goal of each is to prevent recognition of the fact that what the Ottoman government did to the Armenians in 1915 constitutes genocide.

First, there is an attempt to remove the label "genocide" from the Armenian experience. This is done in part by not differentiating between the victims of the massacre and of warfare, of blaming the victims as the initiators of violence (thus suggesting that they got what they deserved, even though it never happened), and describing the genocide as a civil war within a global war. In the end, the genocide of over a million Armenians is made to appear like an "amorphous human disaster."²⁵

A second theme, unique to the Turkish case, is the determination to deny the Armenian genocide by acknowledging the Holocaust.²⁶ This involves in part special efforts by Turkey to recognize the tragedy of the Holocaust and show compassion for its victims. But Turkey has also gone to extraordinary lengths, including threats and disruption of academic conferences, to prevent Jews from learning about the Armenian genocide. Moreover, one notes that Lowry's memorandum stresses that Lifton relied upon the work of other scholars, but this, he argues, is precisely why it is necessary to discredit at the outset authors such as Dadrian, Fein, and Kuper. The danger Lowry sees is that "from now on we will see *all* works on the genocide of the Jews" containing references to the Armenian genocide. Such references would allow for

comparison and the conclusion that, for different reasons, both Jews and Armenians have been victims of genocide. There is another aspect to this, however, that can best be addressed in terms of the letter—the attempt of the Turkish government and its intellectuals to draw a sharp and decisive distinction between the Holocaust and the experience of the Armenians in 1915.

The letter states that to make any comparison of the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide is ludicrous. But it is not ludicrous: the similarities have been pointed out by many scholars, most recently by Robert Melson in his major work on *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*.²⁷ Other leading Jewish scholars of the Holocaust, in fact, describe the Armenian massacres and deportations into the desert as genocide, and one that approximates the Holocaust in important respects. Yehuda Bauer, for example, not only points out the similarities between the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust, but states that on a “continuum of murderous behavior, the Armenian massacres would figure nearest to the Holocaust. . . .”²⁸ Similarly, the late Lucy Dawidowicz stated that the Armenian genocide in its “extent and horror most closely approximated the murder of the European Jews.” She continued: “The once unthinkable ‘Armenian solution’ became, in our time, the achievable ‘Final Solution,’ the Nazi code name for the annihilation of the European Jews.”²⁹

Concluding Reflections on the Memorandum and Letter

To confront denial is to face a recurrent question: do those who engage in denial of a well-documented genocide actually believe their own words, or do they know better, but disregard the facts for personal or political reasons? The issue is complicated in that denial is, at times, a deliberate distortion of the facts to serve some presumed advantage. But denial may also be a “defense mechanism” that functions to reduce stress and inner conflict. As a defense mechanism, the events and feelings that one wants to deny are not completely removed from consciousness, but are rather placed in a more favorable light through a kind of selective emphasis and reappraisal. While this distorts the truth, the person who uses such a strategy may not be aware that he or she is doing so to make the situation less threatening. Nevertheless, denial as distortion of truth and as self-serving rationalization are often intertwined and reinforce each other.

In the case of Lowry and the ambassador, there is a sense in which their whole enterprise involves a retelling of the Armenian genocide to place Turks in a favorable light and Armenians in a bad light: in such accounts the victim is invariably blamed for the genocide; indeed, is cast in the role of perpetrator. But for all the reinterpretation and selective uses of history, there is a clue that the ambassador and Lowry know that the Armenian genocide took place, which would make their public statements to the contrary appear to be calculated distortions of the truth.

To return to the documents at hand. The letter Lifton received and the draft of

it by Lowry are explicit in denying the genocide, and speak of the “so-called ‘Armenian genocide,’ allegedly perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks during the First World War.” However, when we examine the memorandum, a different story appears, with a decided gap between the public discourse of the letter and the private discourse of the memorandum. On the first page of the memorandum, the executive director of the Institute of Turkish Studies approaches the subject, and the ambassador, delicately, referring to the “so-called ‘Armenian Genocide.’” Yet a few pages later, when he gives his “summation,” Lowry speaks openly without using such terms as “alleged” or “so-called”: he now writes, without quotation marks, about “the Armenian Genocide” and “the genocide.” It is hard to believe that he would present such language to the ambassador unless he knew that the ambassador would not be offended.

The Harmfulness of Genocide Denial

We should not be surprised by instances of what many would consider to be inappropriate use of academic credentials and skills, since, after all, academics and professionals have contributed in direct ways to genocidal killing projects, including the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust. They have done so by lending their talents and prestige to racist, victimizing ideologies that are central features of many genocides, by helping to create and administer the policies and technologies of mass killing, and by actually engaging in the killing.³⁰ If highly educated academics and professionals have been able to repudiate their ethical codes and serve as accomplices and perpetrators of actual genocides, it is likely that they would be even more able to engage in an activity in which no one is killed.

It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the serious harm caused by denial of genocide, particularly denial wrapped in the guise of legitimate scholarship. In this section, we examine the harm done by pseudo-scholarly denial of known genocides and consider the assertion, put forth by some scholars, that deliberate denial is a form of aggression that ought to be regarded as a contribution to genocidal violence in its own right. Then we briefly address the question of what might motivate academics to make a career out of denial of genocide.

Some of the ways in which denial of genocide causes “violence to others” have been identified by Israel W. Charny in his essay on “The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides,” in which he emphasizes that denial conceals the horror of the crimes and exonerates those responsible for it.³¹ This point is echoed by Deborah Lipstadt, who, in her recent book on denial of the Holocaust, writes that “Denial aims to reshape history in order to rehabilitate the perpetrators and demonize the victims.”³² Denial also, according to Charny, “attacks the historical spirit and morale” of the survivors and the descendants of those killed and places “further burdens on their recovery.”³³ In short, denial prevents healing of the wounds inflicted by genocide.³⁴ Furthermore, it constitutes an “attack on the collective identity and national cultural continuity of the victim people.”³⁵

A number of scholars have argued, in fact, that the deliberate denial of a known genocide is a harmful act that deserves to be included in the same moral domain with indirect and direct contributions to the actual genocides. Thus, Charny states that *"Denials of genocide make no sense unless one sees in them renewed opportunities for the same passions, meanings, and pleasures that were at work in the genocide itself, now revived in symbolic processes of murdering the dignity of the survivors, rationality, dignity, and even history itself"* (emphasis in original).³⁶ Indeed, denial may be thought of as the last stage of genocide, one that continues into the present. A kind of double killing takes place: first the physical deed, followed by the destruction of remembrance of the deed.

Historian (and Holocaust survivor) Erich Kulka regards the denial of genocide as an offense in its own right, asserting that "Attempts to rewrite Holocaust history on the pretext of 'revisionism,' aided by scholars with academic backgrounds, must be viewed as intellectual aggression," a repetition in thought of what was enacted earlier as physical deed.³⁷ In his recent book on denial of the Holocaust, Pierre Vidal-Naquet characterizes Robert Faurisson, whose "scholarly" denials of the Holocaust have been widely disseminated, as a "paper Eichmann."³⁸

We concur with Charny, Kulka, and Vidal-Naquet in regarding denial of genocide as an egregious offense that warrants being regarded as a form of contribution to genocidal violence. Denial contributes to genocide in at least two ways. First of all, genocide does not end with its last human victim; denial continues the process. But if such denial points to the past and the present, it also has implications for the future. For by absolving the perpetrators of past genocides from responsibility for their actions and by obscuring the reality of genocide as a widely practiced form of state policy in the modern world, denial may increase the risk of future outbreaks of genocidal killing.

Why Might Intellectuals Engage in the Denial of Known Genocides?

There are several possible motivations for denial of genocide, and these can be complex. The motivations to which we would call attention include: self-serving ideology, bigotry, intellectual confusion, careerism, identification with power, and a particular conception of knowledge. It seems unlikely, however, that denial rests only on one of these motivations; moreover, the particular combinations of motivations may vary with individuals. Also, what prompts denial may vary with different examples of genocide: anti-Zionism, for example, may help explain denial of the Holocaust, but in terms of its content tells us nothing about why the Armenian genocide has been denied. On the other hand, if we focus not on the content of the motivation, but on its form (ideology) and goals (political and psychological purposes), then the motivations for denial in these two cases may have more in common than appear at first glance.

Ideology, Bigotry and the Denial of the Holocaust

Scholars who have analyzed deniers of the Holocaust have concluded that they are primarily motivated by ideology. Thus, Vidal-Naquet, in his examination of Faurisson and other French "revisionists," asserts that "all revisionists are resolute anti-Zionists."³⁹ Similarly, on the basis of her even more comprehensive survey of Holocaust deniers, Lipstadt concludes that "it is clear that deniers have no interest in scholarship or reason. Most are antisemites or bigots."⁴⁰

These answers are no doubt correct, but they are incomplete. It may be that all revisionists are anti-Zionists, but there are surely anti-Zionists (some of them Jewish) who do not deny the reality of the Holocaust. Similarly, there are people who are highly antisemitic, but are well aware that the Holocaust took place.

Intellectual Confusion, Rationalization

Clues to the thinking of academics who question the reality of the Armenian genocide have been provided by Israel Charny and his colleague Daphna Fromer, who sent questionnaires to sixty-nine scholars who signed an advertisement which, in the words of Charny and Fromer, "questioned insidiously the evidence of the Armenian genocide" and appeared in several newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.⁴¹ In analyzing the comments of the seventeen scholars who provided "active responses" to their mailing, Charny and Fromer discerned a number of "thinking defense-mechanisms" that enabled the scholars to engage in "the denial of genocide." These mechanisms included what the authors term "scientificism in the service of denial," i.e., the claim that not enough empirical evidence is available to justify an unequivocal position on the reality of the genocide; and "definitionalism," i.e., acknowledging deaths, but denying that they were the result of "genocide," thus shifting responsibility for the genocide away from the Turkish government and trivializing the killing of over a million Armenians as the inadvertent result of famine, war, and disease.

Whether anyone is led into denial by such reasoning is an open question, but such thinking does serve to make denial easier thereafter, while, at the same time, it preserves the appearance of objectivity.

Careerism, Power, Knowledge

"Careerism" is a complicated phenomenon, but for our purposes we would identify two (non-exclusive) forms that it may take: one that is oriented more toward material goals, and one that involves more the satisfactions that go with power. Both share the "thoughtlessness" that Hannah Arendt saw as the essence of the "banality of evil": an imaginative blindness that prevents one from reflecting upon the consequences of one's actions.⁴² But elsewhere Arendt also speaks of a "willed evil," and the second type of careerism is not far removed from this: not simply the obliviousness to hurt, but the infliction of hurt.⁴³

Intellectuals who engage in the denial of genocide may be motivated in part by either type of careerism, or by both. The more insidious form, however, is the second type of careerism. Here material rewards are important, but more so, the opportunity for certain psychological and social satisfactions: a sense of importance, of status, of being in control, all of which can come through identification with power, something we believe we have shown in the memorandum we have analyzed. The price for intellect in the service of denial, however, is a particular conception of knowledge, one in which knowledge not only serves the ends of those in power, but is *defined by power*. But to define truth in terms of power is to reveal the bankruptcy, irrationality, and above all, danger, of the whole enterprise of denial of genocide. Inherent in such a view of knowledge is both a deep-seated nihilism and an urge to tyranny.

Concluding Comments: Scholars and Truth

Scholarship is, or should be, a quest for truth. What scholars write and say in that quest matters a great deal. Directly or indirectly, our words contribute to a shared consciousness—to the constellation of beliefs that a society forms in connection with issues of any kind. Scholars' contributions to that shared consciousness become especially important in relation to a society's struggles with large, disturbing, and threatening historical events.

Nowhere is scholarly research and commentary more significant than in connection with genocide. Here the scope of mass murder and the depth of its moral violation defy understanding and arouse every kind of confusion, whether in the form of diffuse passions or resistance to painful evidence. Careful scholarly evaluation can hardly eliminate these confusions, but it can diminish them in favor of reasoned interpretation and the channeling of passion into constructive policy. Generally speaking, the extremity of human harm brought about by genocide raises the stakes of scholarly commentary.

Where scholars deny genocide, in the face of decisive evidence that it has occurred, they contribute to a false consciousness that can have the most dire reverberations. Their message, in effect, is: murderers did not really murder; victims were not really killed; mass murder requires no confrontation, no reflection, but should be ignored, glossed over. In this way scholars lend their considerable authority to the acceptance of this ultimate human crime. More than that, they encourage—indeed invite—a repetition of that crime from virtually any source in the immediate or distant future. By closing their minds to truth, that is, such scholars contribute to the deadly psychohistorical dynamic in which unopposed genocide begets new genocides.

Those of us who wish to be true to our scholarly calling have a clear obligation here. We must first expose this form of denial. At the same time we must ourselves bear witness to historical truths—to the full narrative of mass murder and human suffering. To be witnessing professionals in this way requires that we take in grim details so that we can tell the story with accuracy and insight. It is a task to which we

must bring both heart and mind, an approach that combines advocacy and detachment. We require sufficient detachment to maintain rigorous intellectual standards in evaluating evidence and drawing conclusions. At the same time our moral advocacy should require us to open ourselves to suffering as a way of taking a stand against cruelty and killing, whatever its source.

Notes

1. Terrence Des Pres, "Introduction: Remembering Armenia," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1986), p. 10.

2. On scholarship as commitment to power, see Terrence Des Pres, "On Governing Narratives: The Turkish-Armenian Case," *Yale Review*, 75:4 (October 1986), pp. 517–531.

Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* provides an excellent example of "truth" being whatever officials say it is. He recounts in an article entitled "Killing Truth," how after a brief reference to the Armenian genocide in a previous column, the Turkish ambassador invited him to the embassy for a talk. Cohen writes:

I found myself sitting at one end of an enormous table in the embassy of Turkey. At the other end was the ambassador himself and what he was telling me was that the crime I had always thought had happened, simply had not. . . . What the world persisted in calling a genocide was actually a civil war—one with atrocities on both sides and one in which the central government in Constantinople lost control of its own troops and could not protect the Armenians. There never was a policy to exterminate the Armenians.

Cohen, who thought that "the genocide was a given—that no one could possibly dispute that it had happened," was thrown into turmoil by the ambassador's claims, and now found that the ambassador had "dented his confidence." The problem of denial had now included Cohen: "And so year by year, person by person, the genocide blurs, doubt corrodes it, and the easy word, 'alleged,' creeps in to mock the Armenian anguish. The goal of such denial, he believed, was not so much the rewriting of the past as such, but the control of the present and the future. He concluded his article with the observation that perhaps the "last victim of any genocide is truth." Richard Cohen, "Killing Truth," *The Washington Post*, 31 May 1983, p. B 1.

3. Vahakn N. Dadrian, "A Textual Analysis of the Key Indictment of the Turkish Military Tribunal Investigating the Armenian Genocide," *Armenian Review*, 44:1 (Spring 1991), pp. 26–27.

4. Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Documentation of the World War I Armenian Massacres in the Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23:4 (November 1991), p. 560.


5. Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page: 1918), p. 309.

6. Dadrian, "The Documentation," p. 568.

7. Here we can cite only a few of the many works that document the Armenian genocide. Among the contemporary accounts, see: Leslie Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province: An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1917* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1989); Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page: 1918); and Arnold J. Toynbee, ed., *The Treatment of the Armenians in*

the Ottoman Empire: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916). *The Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives, 1915–1918* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey Inc., 1990) provides 37,000 pages of documentation in microfiche. For recent studies, see three articles by Vahakn N. Dadrian, “The Secret Young-Turk Ittihadist Conference and the Decision for the World War I Genocide of the Armenians,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 7:2 (Fall 1993), pp. 173–201; “The Documentation of the World War I Armenian Massacres in the Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23:4 (November 1991), pp. 549–576; and “Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish Sources,” in Israel W. Charny, ed., *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review* (London: Mansell Publishing; New York: Facts on File, 1991), Vol. 2, Ch. 4; Tessa Hofmann and Gerayer Koutcharian, “Images that Horrify and Indict: Pictorial Documents on the Persecution and Extermination of the Armenians from 1877 to 1922,” *Armenian Review*, 45:1–2 (Spring/Summer 1992), pp. 53–184; Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); and Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). For an extensive bibliography on the Armenian genocide, see Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Armenian Holocaust: A Bibliography Relating to the Deportations, Massacres, and Dispersion of the Armenian People, 1915–1923* (Cambridge, MA: Armenian Heritage Press, 1980). On the availability of survivor testimony in the form of oral history, see Miller and Miller, pp. 212–213. Most of the oral histories are in Armenian and have not been translated; on the other hand, many survivor memoirs exist in English: among the more detailed are Abraham H. Hartunian, *Neither to Laugh nor to Weep: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) and Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgement Unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1990).

8. There is a substantial literature on denial of the Armenian genocide. See, Rouben Adalian, “The Armenian Genocide: Revisionism and Denial,” in Michael N. Dobkowski and Isidor Walimann, eds., *Genocide in Our Time: An Annotated Bibliography with Analytical Introductions* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pierian Press, 1992), Ch. 5; Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, “What Genocide? What Holocaust? News from Turkey, 1915–1923: A Case Study,” in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, Ch. 5; Richard G. Hovannisian, “The Armenian Genocide and Patterns of Denial,” in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, Ch. 6; Clive Foss, “The Turkish View of Armenian History: A Vanishing Nation,” in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), Ch. 11; Vahakn N. Dadrian, “Ottoman Archives and Denial of the Armenian Genocide,” in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide*, Ch. 12; Vigen Guroian, “The Politics and Morality of Genocide,” in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide*, Ch. 13; and the following articles by Roger W. Smith, “Genocide and Denial: The Armenian Case and Its Implications,” *Armenian Review*, 42:1 (Spring 1989), pp. 1–38; “Denial of the Armenian Genocide,” in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, Vol. 2, Ch. 3; and “The Armenian Genocide: Memory, Politics, and the Future,” in Hovannisian, ed., *Armenian Genocide*, Ch. 1. See also the wide-ranging discussion by Israel W. Charny, “The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides,” in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, Vol. 2, Ch. 1.

9. See, for example, Hovannisian, “The Armenian Genocide and Patterns of Denial,” in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, pp. 115–131; and Roger W. Smith, “Genocide and Denial,” pp. 15–20. 

10. Edward Minasian, "Musa Dag: The Film That Was Denied," *Journal of Armenian Studies*, 11:2 (Fall/Winter 1985–86), pp. 63–73; Hovannisian, "Patterns of Denial," pp. 120–21.
11. Hovannisian, "Patterns of Denial," pp. 113–14, 124–27, 129–30.
12. Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 219–20; Smith, "Genocide and Denial," pp. 22–23.
13. Leo Kuper, "Problems in Education on Genocide," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, 14, (Feb. 1988), Special Supplement, p. 1.
14. Israel W. Charny and Shama Davidson, eds., *The Book of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide: Book 1, The Conference Program and Crisis* (Tel Aviv: Institute of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, 1983), pp. 269–315, and Israel W. Charny, ed., *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide* (Boulder, Colorado and London: Westview Press, 1984), pp. 364–372.
15. *New York Times*, 22 June 1982, p. A 4.
16. Our description of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc. is drawn from the following sources: "The Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc.," a brochure published in Washington, DC, by the Institute, not dated, but includes the Director's Report for 1983–84; *Report of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., 1982–1992* (Washington, DC: Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., 1992); *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 26th ed–1992 (Detroit and London: Gale Research, Inc., 1991), 1:1133; Stan Olson, ed., *The Foundation Directory 1992 Edition* (New York: The Foundation Center, 1992), p. 228; William Wade, ed., *National Directory of Nonprofit Organizations*, 1991, Volume 1: *Organizations with Revenues of \$100,000 or More, Part 1: A–O* (Rockville, MD: The Taft Group, 1991), pp. ix, 1078; and Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Turkish State and History: Clio Meets the Grey Wolf*, 2nd ed. (Thessaloniki and New Rochelle, NY: Institute for Balkan Studies and Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1993), Part 3. We are grateful to Dr. Rouben Adalian for making a copy of the brochure published by the Institute of Turkish Studies available to us.
17. "The Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc.," p. 11.
18. Smith, "Denial of the Armenian Genocide," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:83. In his most recent work, *Turkey and the Holocaust: Turkey's Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, 1933–1945* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), pp. 22, 27, Shaw accuses some Armenians residing in Turkey during World War II of being pro-Nazi and antisemitic. See the devastating review of Shaw's book by Bernard Wasserstein in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 7 January 1994, pp. 4–6.
19. *Report of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., 1982–1992*, pp. xi–xii. The next chair in Turkish studies will be in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. The Turkish government will contribute \$1.5 million toward establishing the professorship. See *Georgetown Magazine*, Spring/Summer 1994, p. 12.
20. Isidor Wallimann and Michael N. Dobkowski, ed., *Genocide and the Modern Age* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987).
21. Heath W. Lowry, "The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians," *Political Communication and Persuasion*, 3:2 (1985), pp. 111–140. For a thorough discussion of the Hitler

remark, and its authenticity, see Kevork B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenians* (Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute, 1985).

The remark attributed to Hitler is contained in a summary of Hitler's speech to his generals about his plans to wage a ruthless war against Poland on August 22, 1939. Within days, Louis P. Lochner of the Associated Press in Berlin received from an "informant" a copy of the document, which is based on notes taken by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of Hitler's military intelligence. Lochner immediately brought the account to the attention of the American and British embassies. He subsequently published the document in translation in his book *What About Germany?* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1942), pp. 1–4.

The important issue is less the authenticity of the remark than what lessons Hitler drew from the Armenian case, and how these affected his actions in Poland, and subsequently the decisions to annihilate the Jews and Gypsies. Bardakjian provides evidence (pp. 25–35) that Hitler was familiar with the Armenian genocide, believed that the Armenians, like the Jews, were a "degenerate race," and was aware that Turkey had been able to exterminate a people with impunity. The lessons he drew were even more pointed in his 1931 interview with Richard Breiting of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*. Here he invoked the destruction of the Armenians within a context of deportation, resettlement, and massacre as a means to providing "living space" for Germany and the Aryan race. "Think of the biblical deportations and the massacres of the Middle Ages . . . and remember the extermination of the Armenians." Hitler added: "One eventually reaches the conclusion that masses of men are mere biological plasticine." Quoted in Bardakjian, p. 28, from Edouard Calic, *Unmasked*, trans. Richard Barry (London: Chatto & Windus, 1971), p. 81.

22. Heath W. Lowry, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990), p. 60.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. Lowry has also written "op-ed" articles in an attempt to defeat Congressional resolutions that would officially recognize the Armenian genocide. A good example of this appears in the *Wall Street Journal*, 15 November 1989, p. A 26.

24. Smith, "Genocide and Denial," pp. 6–9; Deborah E. Lipstadt, "Deniers, Relativists, and Pseudo-scholarship," *Dimensions*, 6:1 (1991), p. 7; and Israel W. Charny, "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:13–15.

25. Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Ottoman Archives and Denial of the Armenian Genocide," in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 283–86. An excellent example of denial through the means to which Dadrian refers is contained in Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, "The Authors Respond," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9:3 (1978), pp. 399–400.

26. Richard G. Hovannisian, "The Armenian Genocide and Patterns of Denial," in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, pp. 128–29, and Smith, "Genocide and Denial," pp. 16–18.

27. Richard G. Hovannisian lists many of the common features in his study, "The Historical Dimensions of the Armenian Question, 1878–1923," in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, p. 30. Melson's book, published by the University of Chicago Press in 1992, provides a sustained analysis of the similarities between the two genocides, which he describes as "total genocides," born of revolution and war. But, like others, he suggests there are also some differences. See, in particular, chapter 8 of his book.

28. Yehuda Bauer, "Essay: On the Place of the Holocaust in History," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 2:2 (1987), p. 217.
29. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 20.
30. For a survey of the roles of several professions in the Holocaust and other cases of genocidal killing, see Eric Markusen, "Professions, Professionals, and Genocide," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:264–98. With few exceptions, studies of the role of specific professions in genocide focus on the Holocaust; but see the path-breaking article by Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Role of Turkish Physicians in the World War I Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1:2 (1986), pp. 169–92. On the involvement of various professions in the Holocaust, see, among others, Omer Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) and *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Alan D. Bayerchen, *Scientists Under Hitler: Politics and the Physics Community in the Third Reich* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Christopher R. Browning, *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referat D III of Abteilung Deutschland, 1940–1943* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1977) and "Genocide and Public Health: German Doctors and Polish Jews, 1939–41," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 3:1 (1988), pp. 21–36; Michael H. Kater, *Doctors Under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Peter Hayes, *Industry and Ideology: I. G. Farben in the Nazi Era* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Herbert Hirsch, "Nazi Education: A Case of Political Socialization," *Educational Forum*, 53:1 (1988), pp. 63–76; Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); Ingo Müller, *Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich*, trans., Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others, Germany 1933–1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Gunter W. Remmling, "Discrimination, Persecution, Theft, and Murder Under Color of Law: The Totalitarian Corruption of the German Legal System, 1933–1945," in Isidor Wallimann and Michael N. Dobkowski, eds., *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987), Ch. 10; Telford Taylor, "The Legal Profession," in Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton, eds., *The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide* (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1980), pp. 133–140; and Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People* (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1946).
31. Israel W. Charny, "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:23.
32. Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 217.
33. Israel W. Charny, "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:22.
34. See, for example, Levon Boyajian and Haigaz Grigorian, "Psychological Sequelae of the

Armenian Genocide," in Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, Ch. 10, and Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*, Ch. 8.

35. Israel W. Charny, "The Psychology of Denial of Known Genocides," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:23.

36. Ibid., p. 18.

37. Erich Kulka, "Denial of the Holocaust," in Charny, ed., *Genocide*, 2:57.

38. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p. 57.

39. Ibid., p. 87.

40. Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, p. 206.

41. Israel W. Charny and Daphna Fromer, "A Follow-up of the Sixty-Nine Scholars Who Signed an Advertisement Questioning the Armenian Genocide," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, Special Double Issue 25/26 (April 1990), pp. 6–7.

42. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, revised and enlarged edition (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), pp. 49, 278–88.

43. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 239–40.

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memory of the victims of the Armenian
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Taking A Stand Against The Turkish Government's Denial of the Armenian Genocide and Scholarly Corruption in the Academy

A Statement Issued by Concerned Scholars & Writers

April 1996

In the years 1915-1918 the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire carried out a systematic, premeditated genocide against the Armenian people—an unarmed Christian minority living under Turkish rule. Over a million Armenians were exterminated through direct killing, starvation, torture, and forced deportation marches, and about another million were sent into exile, thus expunging Armenians living everywhere in Turkey (except in Constantinople and Smyrna) and wiping out a 3,000-year-old civilization situated on its homeland in central and eastern Anatolia.

The Armenian Genocide was the most dramatic human rights issue of the first decades of the 20th century, and was reported regularly with bold headlines in *The New York Times*. The Armenian Genocide is well documented by Ottoman court-martial records, an abundance of documents in official archives of nations around the world, photographic evidence, the reports of missionaries and diplomats, especially from the United States, England, Germany, and Austria, the testimony of survivors, and eight decades of historical scholarship.

Despite these facts the Turkish government has devised increasingly insidious ways of denying the genocide of the Armenians. Today the Turkish government would like the world to believe that the systematic extermination of a defenseless and stateless people was a civil war. The signers of this petition attest to the recent disclosures about the Turkish government's attack on the truth and its attempts to censor scholarship about the Armenian Genocide. These tactics are documented in an article, "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide," by Roger Smith, Eric Markusen, and Robert Jay Lifton, in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Spring 1995).

- 1) Beginning in the Cold War era, Turkey has periodically coerced the U.S. government on the issue of Armenian Genocide recognition by threatening to close U.S. air bases in Turkey. In the 1980s Turkey coerced Congress to defeat resolutions that would have designated a national day of remembrance of the Armenian Genocide.
- 2) Since the 1980s Turkey has attempted to censor U.S. public school curriculums by prevailing on state boards of education to omit the Armenian Genocide from Holocaust and genocide teaching materials.
- 3) In 1982 the Turkish government tried to force the cancellation of an academic conference in Tel Aviv, where the Armenian Genocide was to be discussed, by making threats to the safety of Jews in Turkey. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington reported similar threats over plans to include reference to the Armenian Genocide in its exhibits.
- 4) The Turkish government pays public relations firms in the U.S. millions of dollars each year to cleanse its human rights image, past and present.
- 5) The Turkish government is funding Chairs of Turkish history at prestigious American universities in order to cleanse its image and deny its past. Recently, Professor Heath W. Lowry, who holds the Atatürk Chair of Turkish Studies at Princeton University (endowed by \$1.5 million from the Republic of Turkey) and formerly executive director of the Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc., in Washington, D.C., has been exposed as working closely with the Turkish government to discredit scholarship which mentions the Armenian Genocide.
- 6) When scholars deny genocide, their message is: murderers did not really murder; victims were not really killed; mass murder requires no confrontation, but should be ignored. Scholars who deny genocide lend their considerable authority to the acceptance of this ultimate human crime.
- 7) The denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide: it murders the dignity of the survivors and destroys the remembrance of the crime. Denial of genocide strives to reshape history in order to rehabilitate the perpetrators and demonize the victims. The Turkish government's denial of the Armenian Genocide encourages -- by its very nature -- the current programs that deny the Jewish Holocaust and the Cambodian genocide; it encourages genocidal episodes that are currently occurring in Africa, the Balkans, and elsewhere. The Turkish government's tactics pave the way for state-sponsored Holocaust and genocide denial in the future.

We denounce as intellectually and morally corrupt Turkey's manipulation of American institutions for the purpose of denial of its genocide of the Armenians.

We condemn fraudulent scholarship supported by the Turkish government and carried out in American universities.

We urge U.S. government, institutions, and citizens to reject Turkey's genocide denial tactics.

We urge the U.S. Congress to pass the Armenian Genocide Resolution (H Con Res. 47).

We advocate that U.S. government officials, the media, and scholars refer to the annihilation of the Armenians as genocide, and not use evasive or euphemistic terminology to appease the Turkish government.

This statement has been signed by 100 scholars and writers, including:

Agha Shahid Ali - Poet, Prof. of English, Univ. of Massachusetts
 Michael Arlen - Writer
 James Axtell - Prof. of History, College of William and Mary
 Ben Bagdikian - Former Dean of the School of Journalism, UC Berkeley
 Houston Baker - Prof. of English, Univ. of Pennsylvania
 Peter Balakian - Poet, Prof. of English, Colgate Univ.
 Mary Catherine Bateson - Prof. of Anthropology, George Mason Univ.
 Yehuda Bauer - Prof. of Holocaust Studies, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem
 Robert N. Bellah - Elliott Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of California, Berkeley
 Robert McAfee Brown - Prof. of Theology and Ethics Emeritus, Pacific School of Religion
 Israel W. Cherny - Director, Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem
 Rev. William Sloane Coffin - Pastor Emeritus, Riverside Church, N.Y.C.
 Warren Cohen - Distinguished Univ. Prof., Univ. of Maryland
 Peter Cowe - Associate Prof. of Middle East Languages and Cultures, Columbia Univ.
 Yehuda Dadihan - Director, Genocide Study Project, H.F. Guggenheim Foundation
 David Brion Davis - Sterling Prof. of History, Yale Univ.
 James Der Derian - Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Massachusetts
 Marjorie Housepian Dobkin - Writer, Former Prof. of English, Barnard College
 Jean Bethke Elshtain - Laura Spelman Rockefeller Prof. of Social and Political Ethics, Univ. of Chicago Divinity School
 Kai Erikson - Prof. of Sociology, Yale Univ.
 Raphael Ezekiel - Harvard School of Public Health, Emeritus Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of Michigan
 Helen Fein - Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Genocide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
 Carolyn Forché - Poet, Prof. of English, George Mason Univ.
 Lawrence J. Friedman - Prof. of History, Indiana Univ.
 Henry Louis Gates, Jr. - Prof. of Afro-American Studies, Harvard Univ.
 Langdon Gilkey - Kenney Distinguished Visiting Prof. of Theology, Georgetown Univ.
 Allen Ginsberg - Poet, Distinguished Prof. of English, Brooklyn College
 Vigen Guroian - Prof. of Theology and Ethics, Loyola College
 Michael S. Harper - Poet, Univ. Prof., Brown Univ.
 Geoffrey Hartman - Sterling Prof. of Comparative Literature, Yale Univ.
 Seamus Heaney - Poet, Raylston Prof. of Rhetoric, Harvard Univ., Nobel Laureate
 Paul Hilberg - Prof. of Political Science Emeritus, Univ. of Vermont
 Herbert Hirsch - Prof. of Political Science, Virginia Commonwealth Univ.
 Robert R. Holt - Emeritus Prof. of Psychology, New York Univ.
 Richard G. Hovannisian - Prof. of Armenian and Near Eastern History, UCLA
 Steven T. Katz - Prof. of Jewish History and Thought, Cornell Univ.
 Alfred Kazin - Writer
 Robert Jay Lifton - Distinguished Prof. of Psychiatry and Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate School of the City Univ. of New York
 Deborah E. Lipstadt - Dorot Prof. of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies, Emory Univ.
 Norman Mailer - Writer
 Eric Markusen - Prof. of Sociology, Southwest State Univ., Minnesota
 Robert Nelson - Prof. of Political Science, Purdue Univ.
 Saul Mendlovitz - Dag Hammarskjöld Prof., Rutgers Law School
 Arthur Miller - Playwright
 Henry Morgenthau, III - Producer and Writer
 Joyce Carol Gates - Writer
 Harold Pinter - Playwright
 Nicholas V. Riasanovsky - Sidney Hellman Prof. of European History, Univ. of California, Berkeley
 Leo P. Ribuffo - Prof. of History, George Washington Univ.
 David Riesman - Henry Ford II Prof. of Social Science, Harvard Univ.
 Nathan A. Scott - William R. Kenan Prof. of Religious Studies Emeritus, Univ. of Virginia
 Susan Sontag - Writer
 Roger Smith - Prof. of Government, College of William & Mary
 Max L. Stackhouse - Stephen Colwell Prof. of Christian Ethics, Princeton Theological Seminary
 Charles B. Strozzi - Prof. of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Graduate Center, City Univ. of New York
 William Styron - Writer
 Ronald Suny - Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Chicago
 Raymond Tanter - Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Michigan
 D. M. Thomas - Writer
 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker - Prof. of History, Georgetown Univ.
 John Updike - Writer
 Kurt Vonnegut - Writer
 Derek Walcott - Poet, Prof. of English, Boston Univ.; Nobel Laureate
 Eugene Weiner - Prof. of Sociology, Haifa Univ., Israel
 Nigel J. Young - Cooley Prof. of Peace Studies and Prof. of Sociology, Colgate Univ.
 Howard Zinn - Prof. Emeritus of History, Boston Univ.



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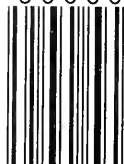


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